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MARYLAND

Historical Magazine



THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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Old Wars and New

They just don't make wars like they used to. Time was when the British sailed up the Bay, the Yankees marched into town, or the Rebs crossed the Potomac you knew a war was at hand. People organized and did something. Men went out and threw up breastworks or donned their militia uniforms to face the foe. Women cooked rations, made flags or bandages, cared for the sick, kept up morale. Sooner or later, the enemy came into clear view. A test of arms followed. Those who had not gone to war watched from rooftops or crowded around newspaper offices to get the latest news. The victorious celebrated; the vanquished withdrew. Citizens bound up their wounds, buried the dead, honored heroes, and erected monuments.

The times, as they say, have changed. The first attacks of this new war—cold, murderous, catastrophic—arrived for most of the country via television and looked less like reality than a movie. In their wake, long hours of televised therapy preceded televised mobilization. As bombers roared off carrier decks, the small screen's equivalent of what military people call "the fog of war" descended. Networks competed to bring every facet of war to the dinner table: reports of damage, a newborn, unsteady peace movement, anti-American protests in unfriendly places, addresses by the enemy, propaganda from every direction. At this writing, film crews dodge falling bombs to bring us fresh explosion-shots nightly. American raiding parties stalk in an eerie, starlit, green universe.

Changes threaten. The first casualty of this strange and remote war has been not truth, though that may come out later, but the ability of this society to move about freely with any sense of safety. The balance between safety and civil liberties has overnight become, in ways and places not yet fully understood, precarious. Linger, but probably doomed, too, are thoughts of a risk-free society. More Americans died on a sunny morning at the World Trade Center than at Antietam, formerly America's bloodiest day, and the Normandy Invasion combined. Perspectives are skewed: Twenty thousand Americans will succumb to influenza this year, but a handful of anthrax cases closes Congress, and the timid hoard Cipro.

The purpose of this column is to articulate the value of history and to call attention to Maryland history, and there is no better time than the present, when all about us once familiar, firm ground has become treacherous. Maryland has demonstrated supreme courage at such times before: at Long Island, North Point, Gettysburg, and Omaha Beach. It has withstood threats to civil liberties and faced challenges to its patience and tolerance. In the months and years ahead, authors will take up those issues for reexamination. We strongly encourage them to do so, thoughtfully and with the knowledge that these are momentous times.

R.I.C.

In Memoriam

On October 19, 2001, the Maryland Historical Society lost a dear and true friend with the passing of Denwood N. Kelly. "Mr. Kelly," as he was affectionately known here at the Press, was a dedicated volunteer with the Library; his trademark quiet smile and gentle manner touched us all. He shared with us a love for history and was himself a part of it, having served with the U.S. Navy in World War II. An accomplished numismatist, he was co-author, with Armand M. Shank Jr., and Thomas S. Gordon, of the authoritative *Money and Banking in Maryland* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1996), the definitive history of the subject in Maryland. Ever the perfect gentleman, clad in a jacket and tie even in the most insufferable summer heat (he never appeared to be uncomfortable), "Mr. Kelly" always made the day a little brighter. He will reside always in our hearts.

Cover

Star-Spangled Banner/Fantasia

This Civil War lithograph graces the cover of *National Melodies*, a collection of patriotic music that includes the "Star-Spangled Banner." The society's "Star-Spangled Banner" sheet music collection contains over 150 editions of the song that gained immediate popularity after the 1814 Battle of Baltimore.

In the early years of the nineteenth century Americans played the "Star-Spangled Banner" together with "Yankee Doodle Dandy" (c.1776), "Hail Columbia" (1798), "America" ["My Country 'Tis of Thee"] (1831), and the "Battle Hymn of the Republic" (1862). As that century ended, Katharine Bates's "America the Beautiful" (1893) became the "Star-Spangled Banner's" strongest rival for official national anthem status. Irving Berlin's "God Bless America" (1918) has also taken its place as a favorite in American patriotic culture.

In 1921, native Baltimorean and War of 1812 descendent Ella Virginia Holloway began her campaign to make Key's poem the national anthem. Over the next decade, Mrs. Holloway, working with Maryland Congressman J. Charles Linthicum, secured national park designation for Fort McHenry and, in 1931, congressional designation of the "Star-Spangled Banner" as the national anthem. At the 1918 World Series, it became the official song of Major League baseball. (Charles Voss, "Star Spangled Banner/Fantasia," *National Melodies*, [New York: S. T. Gordon. 1861].)

The Star-Spangled Banner sheet music collection is available on our web site, www.mdhs.org, under Library, digitized collections, digital archives.

P.D.A.

The Quality of Life in Maryland Over Five Centuries

GEORGE H. CALLCOTT

Consider the dimensions of social history—demography, race and ethnic studies, family-women-gender, social structure and class, economic history, labor and immigration, technology and material culture, consumerism, education, religion, health, crime, ideas and tastes, high and popular culture, the list goes on—and consider the difficulty of finding a common theme. The best comprehensive surveys have not been syntheses but encyclopedias.¹ The purpose of this essay, however, is to focus on a question that does in fact bring these fields together—and one of the ultimate questions of history—namely the quality of life of the people of the past, and how it has changed over the five centuries.

To ask how well people lived in different periods and to make comparisons from one period to another requires a number of different definitions: of place and time, of the qualities that constitute well-being, and of the different levels of society that endured or enjoyed life very differently. As for place, I have selected Maryland because of the long span of its known history, the abundance of the historical record, and because it may have a certain typicality for the rest of America.

As for times to be considered, I have selected five periods—the years around 1550, 1660, 1770, 1880, and 1990—each 110 years apart, each date avoiding the abnormalities of war or depression, each corresponding to a type of economy that shaped the lives of the people. The years around 1550 concern the well-being of the native Americans before the major impact of European contacts. In the years around 1660, a frontier society prevailed in Maryland, although the frontier persisted in the western counties of the state for almost two centuries more. By 1770 Maryland was a mature agricultural society dominated by slavery. In the 1880's the state was an urban-industrial society with its distinctive form of well-being. Finally by 1990 Maryland was a mainly middle-class society, engaged mainly in service occupations and living mainly in the suburbs. These five different economies, hunter-gatherer, frontier, agricultural, industrial, and middle-class—represent the largest and most distinct stages in the state's history. The particulars of each period have in large part been examined by others. Without them this essay would be impossible, and the point now is to focus their work on the matter of well-being, drawing out comparisons over time.

Definitions of well-being, although rare among historians, are not impossibly

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difficult. Sociologists and psychologists deal routinely with the definitions, weighing various particular qualities of life and establishing hierarchies among them. Probably the main debate is between "objective" measures of such qualities as health and wealth as measured by statistics, and "subjective" measures determined by questionnaires, but the results are not very different. To be sure, such matters have no mathematical precision and their meaning changes over time, but they are probably as secure as most definitions on which historians rely. Here, then, let us establish four such criteria of well-being, further qualifying them as we proceed. First is Health, including life expectancy, family nurture, and freedom from pain. Second is Wealth, including food, housing, material goods, and the status these things provide. Third is Opportunity, including security, freedom, social mobility, and availability of education. Fourth, Contentment, although largely subjective, is at least estimable in such things as family and community associations, sense of purpose, personal autonomy, leisure, and cultural life.²

There is a relativity and overlap in these concepts, of course, and we must redefine them from one class of people to another and from one period of time to another. Health and wealth are nearest to constant in that we always want more, but they are also relative because to people in a poor society they are more all-consuming than to people in a rich one; because in any given period people measure themselves less by a fixed standard of adequacy than in comparison with their neighbors; and because people who are healthy and wealthy in one century would likely be laggards in succeeding centuries. The concepts of opportunity and contentment may be still more elusive from class to class and from time to time. Slaves, most obviously, develop an autonomy and adjustment to life that offers ego gratification that free people find in opportunity and achievement, but slave autonomy is hardly related to opportunity and can never be called contentment. Only in modern times have opportunity and contentment become conscious goals of life, and mainly among people of physical comfort. For all the relativity of these concepts, however, the lives of people in one class or period of time do stand in comparison to the lives of people in another class and period, and we can try to understand them by their own standards and by the standards of our own time as well.

Finally by way of starting, comparing the quality of life from one century to another requires some attention to social structure, so that we are comparing the well-being of those at the top, or middle, or bottom of the social scale with their counterparts of a different time. The structure differs greatly over time, as we shall note. Let us think first of an Elite, defining it arbitrarily as the top 10 percent of the households. Second consider the Comfortable, including at different times the yeoman, bourgeoisie, skilled workers, or middle class—people with a stake in society and a sense of control over their lives. Their proportion of the population has grown over time, from almost none among the Indians of 1550, to a large

majority of the population of 1990. Third, consider those at a Subsistence Level owning negligible wealth, unemployed or at near poverty level, their lives precarious and with little control over their destiny. Their proportion of the population has greatly varied over time but has been small in recent years. Finally there is the condition of Servitude—people who were indentured servants or slaves and those whose well-being depended mainly on their masters. Their numbers surged in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and disappeared during the Civil War.

These are merely the dimensions of the story. Let us proceed, shaping the mostly known facts about past societies around the qualities of well-being, and redefining our definitions along the way.

The American Indian Society of 1550

The native Americans who occupied Maryland on the eve of European settlement represented a stage of historical development that was far longer and more ubiquitous through human existence than any period that followed. Theirs was a nomadic hunter-gatherer society with a little agriculture—stone-age and primitive in the sense that they were without metals for tools, without textiles for clothing, without domestic animals for food and travel, without the concept of the wheel or of writing. Still we could have been living in their place and they could have been in ours; it is reasonable to compare their lives with those of early European settlers or with our own; the comparison helps us reflect on our own condition.

The first characteristic of a hunter-gatherer society without metal and textiles is sparse population and short life expectancy. If human well-being is calculated as a large and expanding population, as it is for other species, then the native American society was much restricted. For more than a thousand years, the natives in the area that became Maryland never much exceeded five thousand, limited by the food supply that was available through limited technology. When the Europeans arrived, there were about 1,500 natives on the eastern shore of the Chesapeake, and about three thousand on the western shore. The Europeans constantly calculated and recalculated the number of warriors, and although archeological theorists sometimes boost this number, actual archeological remains generally confirm the settlers' estimates. The number of Indians swelled suddenly as they obtained axes and guns from the Europeans in exchange for beaver furs, but then the number in Maryland plunged with European diseases and theft of their lands.

The sparse Chesapeake Indian population lived in twenty to forty camps or villages, each with two to fifty huts, each hut with two to twenty people. The villages combined, divided, or disappeared. Every several villages constituted a tribe with a more or less distinct dialect. The eastern shore included the Nanticokes, Choptanks, Pocomokes, Accomacs, Wicomiss, Tockwogh, and on the western shore lived the Piscataways, Patuxents, Powhatans, Nanjemoy, and Yaocomocos. Some-

times tribes combined into confederations. Tribal locations and identities changed so often that archeologists often speak not of tribes at all but of sites and cultural affinities. Warfare was more or less constant and villages were sometime surrounded with palisades. War, usually to capture women and children, generally took place by ambush, raids, bluster, and displays of manliness. The Indians usually avoided mass assaults that involved great loss of life, although captured warriors were usually enslaved or were tortured and killed. The women and children who were seized in these raids seem to have accommodated to life with their captors.³

The quality of life for the Indians, then, was dominated by the realities of pain, hunger, and cold. Life for everyone was short, and pain was great. Recent studies of the bones of 286 Indians in nearby Virginia show a life expectancy of 20.9 years, with fewer than 5 percent living to age fifty. This compares with a life expectancy of about twenty-three years in ancient Greece and about thirty-three years in Europe of 1550. Examination of Indian bones shows fractures and arthritis far ahead of European rates. Tooth decay for Indians over the age of five was almost universal, and there were no metal tools for tooth extraction.⁴

Material well-being centered on a food supply that was always in precarious balance with the population. The Indians lived on seafood (oysters, clams, eels, fish), on game (deer, beaver, bear, squirrel, turkey), on forage (chestnuts, walnuts, acorns, roots, mulberries), and to a minor extent on tiny cultivated plots (corn, beans, squash). The most prized food was venison. Deerskins were the most valuable clothing and also the main form of tribute—but deer were scarce, hunted to near extinction. Food was especially scarce in late winter when, the Europeans reported, the Indians appeared emaciated and starvation threatened.

Crude housing and scarce clothing added to the perils of winter. Indian huts, six feet wide and ten to twenty feet long, consisted of saplings placed in the ground a few inches apart, tied together at the top, and covered with strips of bark or mats of reeds. A fire burned in the center of the hut year round, protection from the cold in winter and the insects in summer. For most of the year Indians wore only a loincloth of skins or grass, and in winter the fortunate possessed cloaks of bear or deerskin. Otherwise people acclimated as best they could to the weather and covered themselves with bear or possum grease for protection against the cold.⁵

The Indians maintained their food supply like most stone age people, by allowing their marginal people to die. At least a third of the newborn died or were killed before their fifth year of life, and even when young braves were initiated into manhood around age fifteen, those who failed the tests of endurance and battle were allowed to perish. The Europeans noted the absence among the Indians of weak, lame, or old people, but they had disappeared for a reason.

As if in compensation for the harsh conditions of physical life, the Indians maintained a social cohesion that pointed toward a satisfaction or happiness in

their lives. Theirs was the most sharing and egalitarian society that ever lived in North America. Everyone lived together at a subsistence level, so that we can hardly speak of class among them. Status depended mainly upon prowess in hunting and battle, and on wisdom and age. Chiefs and medicine men—shaman—possessed the greatest status, and they often collected gifts of deerskin and beads from tribesman or as tribute from rival tribes, but their position depended on the concurrence of the tribe; they hunted and foraged for food like everyone else; and their position seldom passed on to their children. The chief had little judicial authority among his own people and claimed none over subject villages. Major decisions such as war or moving to another campsite required tribal consultation and concurrence. Chiefs, shamans, and heroic warriors were sometime buried apart from the common ossuary, often with their possessions. There was little property for inheritance, but identity generally passed through the female line.

There seems to have been considerable equality and mutual respect among men and women. Marriage existed and families provided mutual support, but males and occasionally females could take on additional mates, or they could seek and obtain permission for sexual hospitality to visitors or for extramarital affairs. Families often shared huts and easily took in widows, widowers, or children who had lost their parents, so that huts did not necessarily represent family units. There was much communal life, including common huts for storage and steam baths. Men hunted together, and women foraged and farmed together, usually sharing the produce with the families of all who took part or even with the entire village. Men and women usually ate together, gossiped, or danced with members of their own sex rather than with their spouses.⁶

We cannot know much about the meaning of contentment or happiness in the lives of the Indians. Certainly the shadow of hunger, cold, pain, and early death lay heavily over the other qualities of life. There could have been little sense of security, little confidence in the future. After this, however, there was much freedom and equality, community and belonging, leisure and sport. Recent scholarship is finding ever larger measures of the evolving artistic tradition of the Chesapeake Indians, their complex oral mythology, and their rich spiritual cosmos. We can guess that the Indians felt a confidence in the purpose of life even if the purpose was mainly survival. The Indians lusted mightily after European material goods when they became available, even though the whites were eager to withhold them; and the Indians shunned European social and religious values, even when the whites pressed these values relentlessly on them.

The fusion of physical hardship and social harmony created a kind of well-being unknown in modern society. We are right to stand appalled at the hardship, and we may be right to admire the harmony, and we must embrace the contradiction.

The Frontier Society of 1660

The change from an Indian to a colonial frontier society came slowly over a century: in the 1580s the first Europeans appeared in what is now Maryland as explorers, in the 1610s as traders, and in the 1630s as settlers. By the 1660s, however, the entire Chesapeake coast was a frontier, with about 3,300 Europeans and about fifty Africans occupying about five hundred makeshift cabins widely spread over the nine hundred miles of the waterfront. Sometimes two or three cabins lay within sight of each other to provide a vague mutual protection, but mostly they were a mile or so apart. Hardly a cabin was built to outlast the life of its owner, and hardly an owner lived more than a day's walk from unpatented land. This was the outermost edge of civilization. For all the European technology—axes, clothing, cattle, horses, and especially guns—the life of the newcomers was short and primitive, much like that of the Indians around them. The settlers endured, not for love of the frontier life, but mainly because they could not return.⁷

One of the great distinctions of European society and of all societies with private property was the great distinction in the power and well-being of the rich and poor. Actually, by the standards of Europe in 1660 and of America in later years, the frontier was remarkably egalitarian, less egalitarian than the Indians, but more egalitarian than it would ever be again. A fair number of true gentry came to Maryland and received vast estates, but their acreage was of little value for half a century, until there was sufficient population to sell it profitably or subordinates to cultivate it. Meanwhile, owners and their servants shared the same miserable cabins and even beds. Often the gentry returned to Europe or else they reconciled themselves to hopes for a far distant improvement.⁸

Maryland's egalitarian frontier is evident in superb statistics that support Frederick Jackson Turner's concept of the frontier as democratic. The elite (top 10 percent of the adult males) owned about 55 percent of the total wealth (compared to 70 percent in the 1770s and at least 60 percent in the 1990s), and almost half of these men had begun their life in Maryland as indentured servants. The typical member of the elite owned around two thousand acres of land and left an estate of something over 250 pounds sterling, which was modest by the standards of the English upper class. Another 30 percent or so of the adult males were free landowners with a voice in the conduct of affairs, together owning about 40 percent of the colony's wealth. Below them was a subsistence level of about 30 percent of the adult males and seldom heads of households who were tenant farmers, renters, or day laborers. They owned less than a hundred acres of land and left estates of less than thirty pounds sterling. At the bottom were the servants, about 30 percent of the adult males, who were subject to sale and whippings but were waiting for their term of four or five years to be up when they could begin to climb the status ladder. Already owners were sometimes holding servants beyond their term, especially if

they were black, but not until 1664 was slavery fully legal. Even black servants of 1660 could take complaints against their masters to court and sometimes gain redress. We can assume that women and children were aligned more or less proportionately in this relatively mobile hierarchy or perhaps skewed slightly toward the top.⁹

Consider, then, in this remote and moderately egalitarian society, our categories of well-being. Health and family nurture were so paramount that material comfort was secondary, and other measures of well-being were hardly important at all. A quarter of the new immigrants died within the first year of arrival and half of them were dead within five years, victims of diseases of the new world and of the harshness of frontier life. Life expectancy for the newborn was twenty-two years, about a year more than for the Indians, but at least twelve years less than it would have been in England. Life on most frontiers was precarious, but the Chesapeake was extreme by any measure.¹⁰

The problem with family formation was, as on most frontiers, the lack of women. Three times as many men as women had migrated to Maryland by 1660, so that half of the men died unmarried and many households were exclusively male. Probably the sex imbalance contributed as it did in the convict colonies of Australia, to brutality and homosexuality; certainly it contributed to aggression and loneliness, and this is the darker side to the frontier's egalitarianism. Frontier families were few, kinship networks weak, and the security and refinement they provided was thin. When marriage was possible it was usually late in life, at an average age of twenty-five for women and thirty for men, after people had completed the normal term of servitude. Late marriage and short life expectancy meant that the average marriage lasted less than ten years, and a majority of children grew up with step-parents or with strangers who took them in for whatever labor could be worked out of them.¹¹

The material conditions of life are better catalogued, thanks to recent research, than for more recent periods, and next to health and sex, material conditions were most of what there was to life. The elite 10 percent of the households typically lived in a two-story house mainly of split boards, with a brick chimney. Even the best houses were crude, without paint or decoration, built to last only a few years, smeared with mud on the inside to keep out the wind. In all the colony there was hardly a carpet, a picture on the wall, or a clock. The most common status symbols for the wealthy were a feather bed, some silk clothing, and a horse. Even the largest landowners, with the exception of the governor himself, worked in the fields alongside their indentured servants.

The conditions of daily life graded down from those at the top. The 30 percent of the households we are calling comfortable owned a mean of about 250 acres, and their two-room cabin had a wooden floor and perhaps a closed stairway to a loft where one or two servants lived. These so-called comfortable people owned a

cow, wool-bag beds, and a change of clothing, but they seldom owned a chamber pot or even an outdoor privy, preferring to relieve themselves from a window or just outside the front door. Below the comfortable, at subsistence level, were the households of free immigrants from Europe or newly freed indentures. They rented or were allowed to occupy someone else's land where they lived in a split-board cabin with a dirt floor, maybe twelve by fifteen feet. They owned a gun, some farm and kitchen equipment, and some cornhusk beds, but they seldom owned a change of clothing. Finally at the bottom were the servants and near slaves. Mostly they occupied the loft in their master's cabin, but if they were more than three or four, their wealthy master might allow them to construct a cabin nearby. The unfree owned whatever clothing or savings they brought from abroad, and they usually shared meals, work, and leisure with their master, so that the living conditions of the most debased people on the frontier and the most elevated often worked toward equalization.¹²

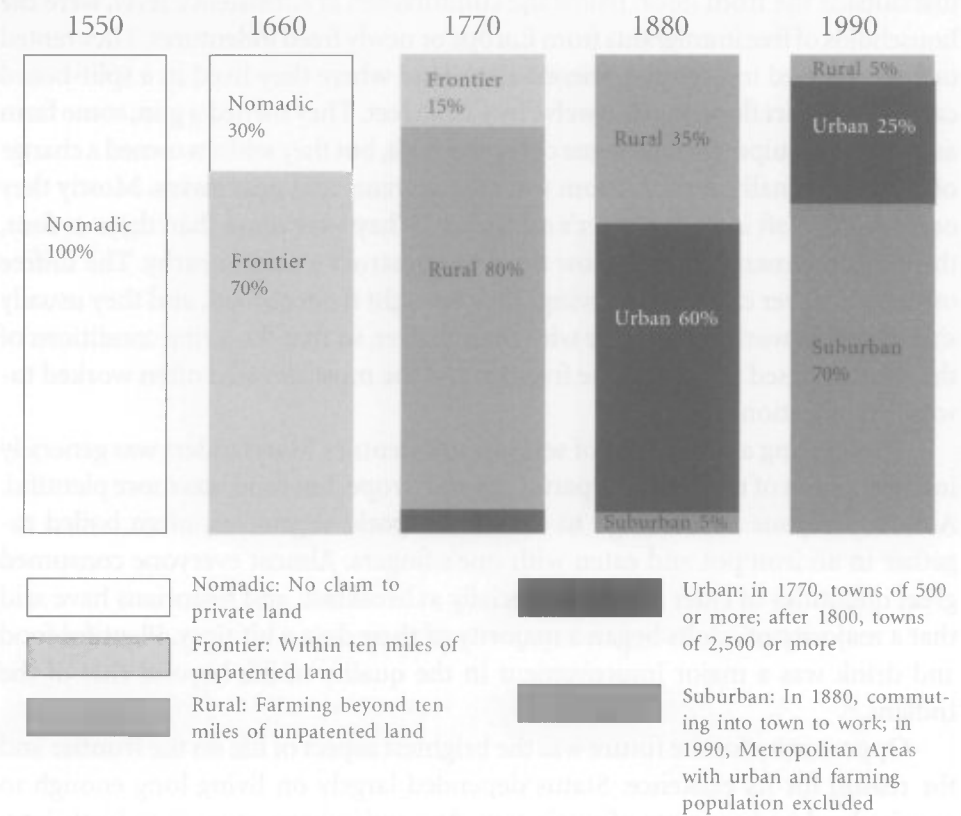
The housing and clothing of seventeenth-century Marylanders was generally inferior to that of their counterparts back in Europe, but food was more plentiful. Almost everyone had enough to eat—corn, pork, vegetables, often boiled together in an iron pot and eaten with one's fingers. Almost everyone consumed great quantities of cider and ale, especially at breakfast, and historians have said that a majority of adults began a majority of their days a bit tipsy. Plentiful food and drink was a major improvement in the quality of life beyond that of the Indians.¹³

Opportunity for the future was the brightest aspect of life on the frontier and the reason for its existence. Status depended largely on living long enough to acquire land and servants of one's own. Age and energy, more than birthright, characterized those at the top. A majority of the judges and twenty-three of the forty-five members of the General Assembly in 1660 had begun their lives as indentured servants.¹⁴ The social mobility of the wilderness, however, did not easily translate into security or optimism. The colony's existence was still far from secure. Indian raids were few but a constant terror. Government was a precarious balance between those who profited from it and those who resisted, and the decades of the 1650s and 1680s were times of bloody rebellion. Every able settler looked for the main chance, either in combination with his neighbors or against them, and violence exceeded anything in the future.

The frontier society had little concept of leisure or high culture. There was idleness, visiting, drinking, and gambling, but in all the colony there was no tavern, no known organized sport, no clubs or associations, no holidays. About a quarter of the adults could read, but there were almost no books to be read for pleasure, and except for a single jew's-harp in the governor's house, there is no record of a musical instrument in all of Maryland.¹⁵

Most people struggling for survival find a certain balm of contentment in each

Table 1: Estimated Proportion of Maryland People by Location:
Nomadic, Frontier, Rural, Urban, Suburban



other's condition and in religion, but these comforts too were scarce in the frontier remoteness. There is little evidence of a sense of community or mutual support—no common meeting place or market day, no public building except for the governor's house where the General Assembly met. One or two Catholic friars ministered to the Indians, and Protestants read prayers in their homes, but the only Catholic chapel had burned down years before 1660 and the Protestants who were a majority had yet to build one.¹⁶

For rich or poor, frontier existence was, as for the Indians, mainly one of survival. The population was booming, however, thanks to continued immigration, and hardships were mitigated by hopes for the future. The hopes for some were realized as slavery came for others.

The Agricultural Slave Society of 1770

From 1660 to 1770 Maryland's population grew nearly 40 percent each de-

cade, by far the largest growth in its history, from about 3,350 Europeans and Africans to 220,000, and creating in the process a new kind of economy. Still about 15 percent of the people lived on the frontier, mainly in the westernmost counties; and another 5 percent lived in towns of more than five hundred, of which Baltimore with 3,500 was the largest; but the majority—at least 80 percent of the population—lived on well-established farms. Two-thirds of the farms produced tobacco for export, although wheat was emerging as an alternative staple, and almost every farmer produced corn, wool, hogs, and cattle for sustenance. Take away the towns and suburbs of the twentieth century, and the rural settlement of 1770 was considerably more dense than two centuries later.¹⁷

The population explosion created the kind of mature agricultural economy that had emerged in Europe centuries before, a rural economy of sharp social stratification. Population growth caused land prices to rise, and this provided the rich with capital to invest in slaves, and slave profits in turn allowed the rich to buy up the land of their marginal neighbors. Technology, which was the most obvious engine of change for later economies, had little to do with Maryland's agricultural system. The long rifle of the 1730s may have hastened the departure of the Indians, the Franklin stove of the 1750s added to farm comfort, and the newspapers of the 1760s added to the intensity of politics, but these were relatively minor changes, for it was the surging value of land and the availability of slaves that created the agricultural golden age.

Social stratification was sharper in 1770 than at any other time in Maryland history. Plantation owners imitated the European aristocracy, and at the bottom were slaves who were more debased than European peasantry. People in Maryland still rose from rank to rank, but except where the frontier still prevailed they seldom advanced by much, for wealth and hence position depended mainly on inheritance. The elite 10 percent of the households owned at least 70 percent of the total wealth, compared to 55 percent of the wealth a century before. The slope downward from the elite was indistinguishable but sharp. Barely more than a quarter (25 to 30 percent) of the adult males could be called comfortable or middle-class, somewhat fewer than in the century before, and their proportion of the wealth had declined from around 40 percent to around 30 percent. The yeomanry were mainly farmers but included a handful of skilled workers who may have lived on farms or in towns. About 35 to 40 percent of the adult males were at subsistence level, either day laborers for landowners or squatters on unclaimed land, living much like the Indians before them. Yet lower on the social scale were indentured servants, down from 25 percent of the population in 1660 to 3 percent in 1770. At the very bottom, however, were the slaves, up from around 5 percent to 28 percent of the population.¹⁸

People were much healthier in 1770 than they had been a century before, and better health contributed to the swelling population. Life expectancy for new-

borns increased from twenty-two years to thirty-two years, primarily as Europeans and Africans acclimated to the American environment and to each others' diseases. The benefits came to almost everyone, rich or slave. The natural increase in slave population was unique to the Chesapeake and at least equal to that of whites. Family conditions improved as sex ratios equalized. In a mature agricultural society both sexes and several generations shared a common workplace, so that generational ties and linear family consciousness was stronger than in times past or in times to come.¹⁹

Material conditions improved, although the disparity between the rich and poor grew even more. Per capita wealth in Maryland seems to have increased about 550 percent from 1660 to 1770, from somewhere around twenty pounds sterling to around 120 pounds. The increase was mainly in the value of the land and slaves that benefited those at the top.²⁰ Consider the material conditions of the people of the eighteenth century according to their economic station.

Those at the peak of the pyramid (the 10 percent with 70 or 75 percent of the wealth) were highly visible—almost a hundred families in a typical county, owning an average of around two thousand acres and twenty slaves. The plantation was permanent, often inherited from parents and being improved upon for heirs, and of course many of the houses are still preserved more than two centuries later. Ostentation in housing, carriages, and dress had become a goal in life. To be sure, ostentation mixed with deprivation, for almost every planter had overbuilt from an occasional good crop. Debt usually hung heavy, and manure clung to the carpets more often than present-day tour guides tell us. We would be struck with the dirt; cleanliness came mostly in the following century. Still, planters enjoyed luxuries; they used a third of their slaves as household servants; they attended the theatre; there were elegant balls; tables were laden for special occasions with silver and porcelain; tea, coffee, sugar, spices, and wines were available beyond the conception of their frontier forebears.²¹

We are inclined to dwell on the life of the rich. They obtained an education their neighbors could not afford, and they cultivated distinct manners and speech. They occupied special seats in church, assumed the titles of sir for themselves and madam for their wives, and their penalties in law were generally limited to fines rather than public whippings. Office-holding was almost exclusively the province of planters or merchants who could afford the money to buy votes and the time to serve in elective office away from their husbandry. In the General Assembly of 1770, every member was born to privilege; their average landholding at the time of their first election was 2,742 acres, and their average holdings in later life were far greater. The laws they passed of course reflected their interests. The Maryland tax system of 1770 was based, not on an assessment of land and slaves, but almost entirely per capita, with slaves excluded, so that the rich and the landless were allowed to pay taxes almost equally.²²

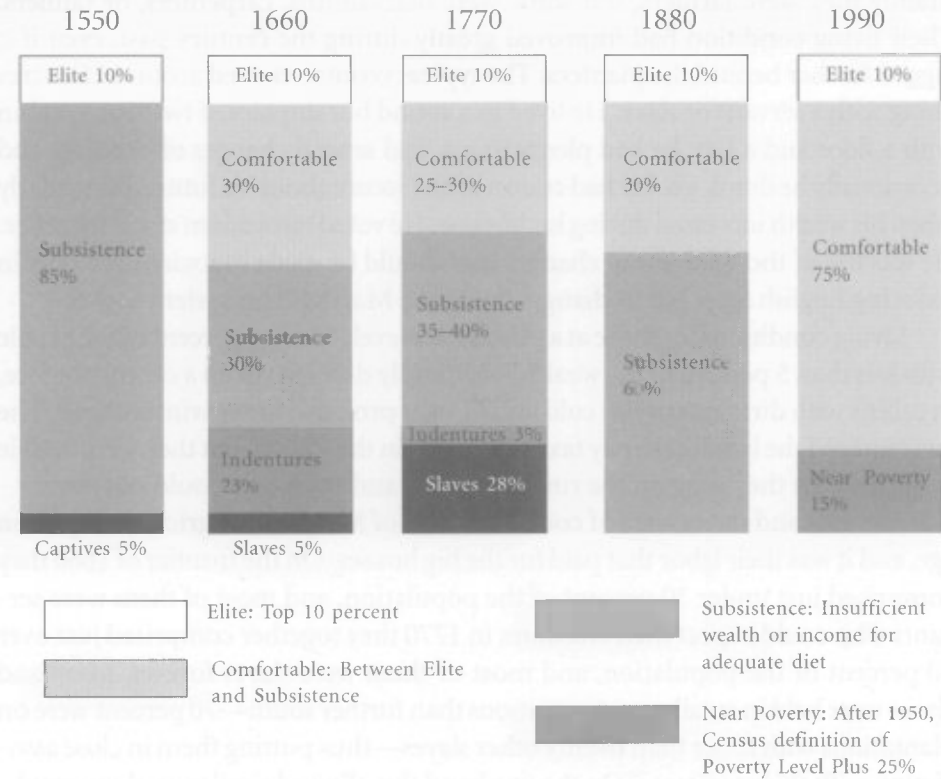
The yeomanry (25 to 30 percent of the people with about 30 percent of the colony's wealth) comprised about three hundred households in a typical county. Mainly they were farmers, but some were blacksmiths, carpenters, or tanners. Their living condition had improved greatly during the century past, even if it lagged further behind the planters. The typical yeoman owned around 250 acres along with a servant or slave. He lived in a sound but unpainted two-room cabin with a floor and a loft; he had plenty to eat, and several changes of clothing, and occasionally he drank tea. He had reason to feel secure about his future, particularly when his wealth increased during his lifetime. He voted but seldom stood for office. He was full of thoughts about changes that should be made in society, not only in reducing English taxes but in changes due in the Maryland tax system as well.²³

Living conditions for those at a subsistence level (35 to 40 percent of the people with less than 5 percent of the wealth) was hardly different from a century before, in cabins with dirt floors, with cold and hunger probable in the winter ahead. The law required the landless to pay taxes and serve in the militia, but they were unable to vote. Often they were on the run from rents and taxes they could not pay.²⁴

Servants and slaves were of course the base of Maryland's agricultural golden age, and it was their labor that paid for the big houses. On the frontier of 1660 they comprised just under 30 percent of the population, and most of them were servants who could expect their freedom; in 1770 they together comprised just over 30 percent of the population, and most of them were slaves forever. Maryland slaves were held in smaller concentrations than further south—70 percent were on plantations with fewer than twenty other slaves—thus putting them in close association with their masters.²⁵ On the one hand this allowed similar working conditions and occasional friendship with the masters, and on the other hand it diminished slave autonomy and preservation of African culture. Slave owners were concerned about slave health and even with a measure of slave content, but the slave's food and clothing came from the master's profit, and slave livelihood remained at barest subsistence level. Taking slaves, servants, and the landless together, then, the great majority of the people of Maryland in its agricultural golden age lived just short of starvation.²⁶

Those above the level of slavery and subsistence, however, were increasingly able to turn from the preoccupation with health and material good to concern with opportunity. The people near the top, pleased with their position and prosperity, were probably more risk-taking than the wealthy usually are, and many were eager to assume places of leadership for or against the coming war for independence. For those in the middle ranks, opportunity lagged, schools for them hardly existed, and many were ready to be enlisted in a different kind of revolution that pointed toward democracy. For people at the subsistence level and for slaves, opportunity and optimism did not realistically exist, although even for them there was little to be lost by revolution and possibly even a glimmer of hope.

Table 2: Estimated Proportion of the Maryland Population Within Five Classes, 1550–1990



Leisure and neighborhood conviviality are especially important in an agricultural society, and leisure for the rich was as important as wealth in creating a high culture. Their wealth allowed for much visiting and extended stays in Annapolis, Philadelphia, and even London. The elite gave dinner parties for each other and provided barbecues for the lesser folk. They developed a grand and sometimes original form of Georgian architecture (William Buckland), supported local silversmiths and furniture makers (Henry Crouch), gardens (William Faris), and artists (Charles Willson Peale). They joined literary clubs (the Hominy and Tuesday Clubs), built racetracks, attended the theatre. They made contributions to medical knowledge (Charles F. Wiesenthal) and to philosophical and political thought (Daniel Dulaney and Charles Carroll). Never before or since has the Chesapeake contributed so much to high culture. The wealth and culture, based on slavery, were products of a mature agricultural economy.²⁷

For those who were merely comfortable and even for some at a subsistence level, community was developing as fast as wealth. The increased population made mutual association easier—in church services, taverns, court days, barn raisings,

quilting bees, and such sporting events as racing, wrestling, and animal baiting. Literacy, belonging to those who could afford it, rose from about 25 percent of the population in 1660 to 45 percent in 1770.²⁸

As for contentment and peace of mind in an agricultural society, there remained the obstacles of relatively short life, material discomfort for many, debt and dirt for everyone, and the ubiquitous brutality of slavery. Still, by the standards of the past, there was, along with the optimism, considerably less social tension than the stratification would seem to predict. Community feeling was evident in the considerable paternalism by which the powerful and the weak benefited from each other's well-being. Care for the disabled and destitute may have been more generous than has existed since. The educated found confidence in the enlightened values of natural law and liberty, and the lowly found solace in a fresh and flourishing revivalism. We of a later age need not idealize the aristocratic agricultural society of the eighteenth century, and we must balance it with slavery, but we need not deny or despise its successes.

The Urban-Industrial Society of 1880

The distance from 1770 to 1880 is especially large in terms of change in styles of living although probably smaller in terms of improvement in the quality of life. The mostly urban society is harder to summarize than the frontier and agricultural societies before it, for variations are more complex among areas of the state, among occupations, and among types of wealth and income; and analysis of a mostly wage-dependent society with wage fluctuation and much unemployment is more difficult than a mostly wealth-dependent society that can be reconstructed from probate records. As information expands our understanding sometimes diminishes.

The Maryland population growth slowed after 1770, from 40 percent per decade to 15 percent, from a total of 220,000 in 1770, to 934,000 in 1880. Overwhelmingly, however, the center of population shifted from the countryside to the city. In 1770, less than 5 percent of the people lived in villages of more than five hundred, but by 1880, 60 percent lived in towns of more than 2,500.²⁹ The city of Baltimore alone comprised 36 percent of the state population, and its wealth and power were vastly larger than its population. In considering well-being, then, we are comparing not only the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries but also the age of the plantation and the age of the city.

The change from a rural dominated to an urban dominated society came mainly from technology. The countryside was changed by the cotton gin, the reaper, the railroad, deep plow, barbed wire, and meat packing—all allowing fewer farmers to feed and clothe more people; and the city grew with textile and steel mills, electric power, streetcars, elevators, the telegraph, and the daily press—

all creating new jobs that attracted people from the farms. In the perspective of social change, the politics of Alexander Hamilton, Andrew Jackson, and even Abraham Lincoln were more directly the results of change than the causes.

The social structure of the urban-industrial society bore a considerable resemblance to the agricultural society of a century before. After about 1880 economists generally calculate social structure by measures of income rather than wealth, since landownership as an easily definable measure of wealth was no longer meaningful for urban dwellers, but there was enough overlap to make comparisons from one index to another. The top 10 percent of households in 1880 received about 70 percent of the total income in 1880, compared to ownership of something over 70 percent of the total wealth in 1770 and 1880. The elite may have been slightly less elite than a century before but the change was small. The proportion of people who were comfortable—the celebrated middle class of 1880—were slightly more numerous than a century before, up from around 25 percent to around 30 percent of the population. They, like those above them, enjoy more goods and services than a century before, but their share of wealth was probably down, from around 30 percent of the total wealth in 1770 to around 25 percent of the total income in 1880.³⁰

The major change in the social structure, of course, came with the disappearance of slavery and the rise of the former slaves at least into the subsistence level of existence. The bottom rung disappeared, and its disappearance marked the greatest social revolution in our history, but the next-to-bottom subsistence rung expanded accordingly. In 1770 about one-third of the Maryland population was slave and another one-third lived at bare subsistence; and in 1889 about 60 percent of the total population was at a subsistence level, together receiving hardly more than 5 percent of the total income. The new majority was slightly more white than black, slightly more native than immigrant. They were the frequently unemployed clerks and blue-collar workers in the city and towns, the sharecroppers and day laborers who remained on the farms, the household servants and the unemployed everywhere. They lived on the edge, in fear of cold and hunger, in dread of illness.³¹

Health improved for all classes of people in the nineteenth century and family conditions improved for most of them. Life expectancy increased from thirty-two to forty-two years, the result of better food, better medical training, vaccination, and improved sanitation.³² The use of anesthesia for dentistry and surgery increased freedom from pain even more, at least for those who could afford it. The urban family was smaller than the rural one had been, in the number of children and relatives in their care. For the elite and comfortable, the family was secure to a fault—few could escape from unhappy marriages, and most single men and women felt compelled to attach themselves as boarders or servants to the households of relatives or of strangers. For those at the bottom, where household in-

come frequently dipped below both comfort and subsistence, the family was probably weaker than it had been in rural isolation or even in slavery.³³

Gains in material conditions were considerable from the eighteenth to the nineteenth century, the result of the industrial revolution and the urban specialization of labor, but the gains were almost certainly less than in the centuries before and after. Real per capita wealth in America approximately doubled from 1770 to 1840 and doubled again by 1880, and Maryland was probably slightly ahead of the national growth rate. Even these gains for the nineteenth century must be modified downward in ways that statistical measures can hardly provide, for food, housing, and recreation that once was cheap now was costly, and there was a confinement in urban living.³⁴

The material gains in daily life, even for the rich, were significant but hardly revolutionary—canned food and manufactured ice, ready-made clothing and factory-made shoes, coal instead of wood for fireplaces, kerosene instead of oil for lamps, indoor plumbing, and rail and steamship travel. The best descriptions of the material and social life of the rich comes from contemporary storytellers, even if most of them were not from Maryland—Edith Wharton, William Dean Howells, Henry James, Theodore Dreiser. The rich defined themselves in social registers, club memberships, and debutante parties. Mostly their wealth came from business, with fewer ties to the plantation elite of a century before. They lived in city and suburban mansions with velvet-draped interiors and abundant servants. They belonged to country clubs, attended the opera, and enjoyed trips abroad.³⁵

Beneath the elite were about 30 percent of the households lumped together as the comfortable middle class, even though the degree of comfort varied greatly among them. At the top of the middle class were businessmen, lawyers, physicians, engineers, and the most prosperous farmers. This upper-middle lived in the city in moderately spacious row houses, or in Victorian houses with big front porches, located out on the streetcar line or in small towns or out on the farm. The upper-middle class had a servant or two who built fires in the grates and did the washing and cooking. Farther down in the middle class were the accountants, sales managers, technicians, skilled craft workers, and more typical farmers. They lived in tiny row houses or in drafty houses in towns and on farms, and they frequently took in boarders to make ends meet. Some of the so-called comfortable still lacked an indoor toilet, and they often skimped on fuel in winter, and shoes for the children, and meat for the table.³⁶

The poorest 60 percent of the people in Maryland in 1880 were unskilled workers, farm tenants, servants, or the unemployed, whose material conditions were very different from a century before but hardly better. The city dwellers among them, many of whom were immigrants, huddled in rat-infested tenement houses; and those beyond the city, many of whom were former slaves, camped in shacks on the edge of towns or in sharecropper cabins on the farms. Ready-made clothing

and household furnishing were more abundant than a century before, and crowding and sanitation were probably worse. Full employment for workers provided subsistence, but at least one-third of the blue-collar workers were unemployed for at least one full month each year. Never before or since in America have workhouses, asylums, and orphanages been so full, which was a sign of poverty but also of charity.³⁷

Opportunity and optimism remained high for the rich and comfortable and increasingly extended to the ranks below. Freedom was considerable, especially for the former slaves, and factory workers seldom accepted the hopelessness of their position that caused their counterparts in Europe to contemplate revolution. Careful studies have shown that social mobility was real in that a majority of people in all ranks enjoyed a rising prosperity during their own lives, that about a third of the people moved significantly upward in occupational class standing from one generation to the next, and that about one-sixth moved down. Progress was the prevailing creed of the industrial world, and opportunity was the magnet that drew immigrants to America and farm workers to the city. One of the major results of Maryland's new wealth was the growth of public schools that were available, at least at the elementary level, to almost everyone. Possibly the greatest advance in well-being of the nineteenth century was that literacy rose from 45 percent of the population in 1770 to 81 percent in 1880, and available reading material increased even more.³⁸

Leisure in the urban world, along with play and cultural opportunities, was very different from the century before, and generally expanded. Leisure became separate from the workplace and often commercial, usually depending on an ability to pay. The workday, unlike that on the farm, was clearly defined, generally ten hours a day for six days a week, with Sundays set aside for rest. The work ethic was at a peak. Only the rich took vacations at all, and notably fewer than their eighteenth-century counterparts. Recreation was of a new sort—outings to amusement parks and beaches, promenades in the park, attendance at concerts, libraries, museums, circuses, vaudeville and music halls, spectator sports like baseball, racing, and prize fights. All of these activities, so large in daily life, were mostly new to the urban world. The neighborhood tavern was hardly more or less significant than a century before. At a higher level, Maryland contributions to high culture lay less in individuals than in institutions. Few of us recognize the names of Maryland writers, artists, musicians, or craftsmen of the late nineteenth century, but organizations like the Peabody Institute, the Peale and Walters Museums, the Enoch Pratt Library, and the Johns Hopkins University loom large.³⁹

Community and personal values were at least as secure as a century before, and more widely held. Racial tension and labor strife were notable, but the basic values of sophisticated and plain people hardly differed. Churches were the center of almost every community, and church attendance was far greater than a century

before. Patriotism was unquestioned, and a larger percentage of the eligible electorate voted than ever before or since. In the presidential election of 1880, 79 percent of the voters cast ballots, compared to 51 percent in the presidential election of 1992. Faith in progress and education was nearly universal. Fraternal orders, clubs, and voluntary organizations were far stronger than a century earlier. Philanthropy was at a new peak. The harshness of the industrial world is hard for us to reconcile today with the faith and sentiment that accompanied it.⁴⁰

For almost everyone, then, the quality of life had improved from 1770 to 1880; for almost everyone life had grown better in the evolution from the countryside that we too often romanticize, to the era of the city which we often disparage. The poorest gained most, for slavery was gone. Health was better for everyone, life was longer, pain was less. Material goods were more plentiful, especially for the rich and comfortable. Opportunity had expanded, especially with the rise of public education, and contentment was considerable, with widely shared values. Life had grown better mainly through the advances of technology and democracy, and the advances would be greater in the century to come.

The Middle-Class Society of 1990

The well-being of the people of Maryland—of America—continued to increase from 1880 to 1990, probably more rapidly than ever before, with an ever growing population enjoying an even faster growing pie. The Maryland population grew by an average of 16 percent each decade, slightly faster than in the century before, to about 4.8 million. In the perspective of centuries, the continent was still filling up, and by the standards of other countries it was still far from full. The economy grew faster than population, at a per capita rate of 25.6 percent each decade.⁴¹ With the growth of population and prosperity came the rise of service occupations, suburban living, and the political and cultural dominance, not of an elite but of the surging middle class.

The occupational shift was out of agriculture and industry and into white-collar jobs. In 1880 the census showed 15 percent of the jobs in Maryland as service, professional, or managerial; but in 1990 this was 60 percent. The largest components of the service occupations were still growing—government, health care, education, computer information services, management, finance, and office clerkships. These occupations created a culture of expertise and bureaucracy with many downsides, including isolation, boredom, and petty office politics, but occupants of the meanest cubicles seldom yearned for the earlier life of farm and factory labor.⁴²

The move to the suburbs equaled the eighteenth-century migration westward and the nineteenth-century move to the city. Suburbanization came with the trolley and the automobile. In 1880 something less than 5 percent of people lived in the

suburbs—defined as households outside the cities and towns with the main wage-earner commuting in to work; and in 1990 about 70 percent of the households were in the suburbs—defined by the census as within a metropolitan area with the urban and farming households subtracted. People moved to the suburbs because they could afford the commuting, because they preferred the more spacious living it provided, and because it allowed them to create communities of their own kind. People moved to the suburbs, in other words, because it enhanced their well-being, and the jobs followed them.⁴³

The social structure of Maryland remained stratified, of course, but the distinctiveness of the elite and the numbers of the poor so much declined that Maryland by 1990 had become—almost unnoticed—more egalitarian than at any time since the seventeenth century. As for the elite, their numbers, wealth, and income must be estimated from national figures, but national and state figures are probably similar. In terms of income, the top 10 percent of the households received about 70 percent of the total income in 1880, but their income fell to 31 percent of the total in 1990 (before rising slightly in the 1990s). The decline in wealth was less striking, down from about 75 percent of the total wealth in 1880 to 60 percent in 1990 (again rising in the 1990s). This leveling downward of income and wealth began in the Great Depression when the rich lost more than anyone else; it continued with rising income, corporate, and estate taxes of World War II; and it continued most of all after the war as the combined income of people in the middle and bottom rose faster than the income of those at the top. In the decade of the 1990s the income and wealth of the rich increased again, but their share remains considerably less than a half-century before and still less than a century before. The elite of 1990—whether 1 percent of the households (with 10 percent of the income), or 10 percent of the households (with 31 percent of the income)—were hardly conspicuous as a group, either in their own self-consciousness, in distinctive styles of living, or in exercise of power. There were many people in Maryland who were rich aplenty, but they were as likely to conceal riches as to flaunt them, for the concept of an elite was as out-of-date as the social register.

While the rich diminished in visibility, the poor diminished in numbers. In 1880 at least 60 percent of the people in Maryland lived at subsistence level, threatened with cold and hunger, together receiving less than 5 percent of the total income; but in 1990 the census calculated 8.3 percent of the people living at a “poverty level” (meaning \$6,310 for an individual or \$12,674 for a family of four), plus another 2.2 percent who were “near poverty,” meaning the poverty level plus 25 percent. The poverty and near-poverty population received 4.7 percent of the total income. This extraordinary shrinkage of the proportion of people of subsistence level came mainly with educational opportunity and with a generally rising prosperity that had lifted a large majority of the poor into the ranks of the comfortable. Even the remaining poor had food, housing, and health care far beyond

their counterparts of a century before, although their relatively smaller number probably rendered them more isolated than in the previous century. The poor of 1990 were less visible to those above them and less powerful politically than they had been.⁴⁵

Between the elusive rich and the diminishing poor was the surging middle: it was the age of the middle class. National polls showed that 88 percent of the people identified themselves as middle-class, and if that included those who once belonged or hoped to belong to the middle, the number was not far from right. Maryland statistics showed 77.7 percent of the 1990 households earned between \$15,000 and \$100,000 annually in 1990 dollars. The difference was considerable, but \$15,000 was well above the poverty line, and even \$100,000 was within the lifetime aspiration of many two-income households. The rise of the middle class came, like the decline in the proportion of the poor, with educational opportunity and labor-saving technology. It came most rapidly in the world wars and after, with the entry of women into the workforce that provided most families with double incomes. The numbers and power of the middle class appeared in politics, when the middle class established disproportionate income and inheritance tax rates on the rich who were above them, and disproportionate sales and lottery taxes on the poor who were below. This was the reverse of the tax structure of a century before when the rich and poor combined to establish property taxes especially aimed at the middle.⁴⁶

Health improved for almost everyone from 1880 to 1990, pain diminished, and life expectancy from birth increased from 45 to 75.4 years—the obvious results of medical technology, improved drugs, and better medical training. The disabled who were still often ridiculed in 1880 were generally accepted into the mainstream a century later and offered government care. Old-age retirement that hardly existed in 1880 became an expected stage of life. Family life was generally easier, with available contraception, socially acceptable divorce, and easy living arrangements outside of marriage. These changes especially benefited the rich and middle segments of society, although for the poor they may have had the opposite effect of diminishing social mobility and family stability.⁴⁷

Material wealth increased at much the greatest rate in American history. Per capita income grew by over 600 percent in these 110 years, and if the benefit from public wealth in the form of schools, highways, water works, and malls is apportioned, then the per capita wealth was augmented by at least 200 percent more. Food was more plentiful and varied, especially with refrigeration and prepared foods. Kitchen and household appliances eased housework. Clothing was more plentiful, everyone owned shoes, and fashion extended to all. Almost everyone enjoyed more household space than a century before; electricity, indoor plumbing, and central heating extended to almost everyone, and air-conditioning extended to most. Everyone enjoyed expanded space in schools, churches, parks,

malls, and sports arenas. Only the rich in 1880 owned a horse and a carriage, but in 1990, 91 percent of households in Maryland owned an automobile, and 98 percent owned a television set. It is hardly meaningful to calculate expenditures of the various levels of the population for food and clothing, or to count bathrooms and appliances, for these were matters of taste and trade-offs as well as of affluence.⁴⁸

Opportunity as a category of well-being had improved for everyone, especially with the expansion of public education. Adult literacy in Maryland rose from 81 percent in 1880 to 99 percent in 1990; the average educational attainment for those over twenty-five rose from the fourth to the twelfth grade; and attendance beyond high school grew from 3 percent to 51 percent of the people. This, as much as technology, was the force behind changes in the social structure and improvements in health and material conditions.⁴⁹

Opportunity as social mobility, security, freedom, and optimism varies considerably from decade to decade and the best estimates are impressionistic, but dividing the population into social groups helps us toward convincing estimates. For the rich, the likelihood of maintaining their position for more than one or two generations is probably less than a century ago; their exclusivity and power are less admired; their confidence in controlling the future is probably diminished. These are often unnoticed but fairly obvious downers in a century when most indicators point upward. Similarly, for those at the bottom, family stability declined over the century, and the relative opportunity and status in low-level jobs declined. For the large majority in the middle, on the other hand, opportunity and optimism is almost certainly greater than a century ago. The middle class are more likely to remember a humble rather than an exalted origin; their power as a class is greater; education has given them an upward mobility and promises more for their children. National polls show about 80 percent of Americans "optimistic about their future" a number more or less equal to the number in the middle class.⁵⁰

People at all levels of Maryland society enjoyed far more leisure and far wider cultural opportunities than their counterparts of the nineteenth century, and possibly this points toward the elusive quality of contentment. The typical workday for Americans declined from ten hours to eight; the workweek declined from six days to five; and annual vacation time increased from an average of two weeks for 10 percent of the workers in 1880, to an average of three weeks for 80 percent. Many housewives went to work for wages, but far from a transition of idleness to oppressive labor, this was often a form of liberation. The main outlet for the new leisure that most people enjoyed away from the drudgery of household and factory was, of course, radio, film, and television that came to occupy Americans over the age of two for about four hours each day. There are doubtless negative effects of these entertainments, but they were the choice of their viewers, and they

brought drama, music, sports, and news into the lives of almost everyone. Attendance at sporting events, concerts, art galleries, museums, libraries, public parks, and gymnasia rose faster than population. Almost anyone could explore alternative cultures in other parts of the country or even of the world.⁵¹

High culture flourished: more orchestras and art galleries than ever, good books more numerous, good music more available. The Maryland census of 1880 counted 1,009 professional artists, musicians, and writers; in 1990 there were at least 13,500.⁵² Maryland authors like John Barth, Tom Clancy, Anne Tyler, Russell Baker, and Jonathan Yardley—along with equally distinguished names in the arts, sciences, and scholarships—obtained recognition outside the state and beyond any counterparts since the eighteenth century. To be sure, the theme in contemporary writing is seldom one of contentment and more often one of ambivalence and anxiety, even of pessimism and anger. Anxiety was probably about equal in high and popular culture, among the sophisticated, the upwardly mobile middle, and the dispossessed.

A sense of community and a sense of purpose may be components of contentment and hence of well-being, and they were not measurably greater nor less in 1990 than a century before. Community in the sense of patriotism and neighborhood probably declined, and political participation declined sharply. Community may have been as great or greater when transferred to athletic teams, profession, or ethnic identity. Religion, meaning dedication to moral absolutes, probably declined, although the number of people belonging to churches, synagogues, and mosques increased from 32 percent in 1880 to 69 percent in 1990.⁵³

Taken together, then, most people in 1990 were immensely better off than a century before—better off in social standing, and better in measurable terms of health, material comfort, opportunity, leisure, and cultural wealth. We cannot ignore the twentieth-century wars and holocausts, nor the fears, nor the people left behind; still, by any standard from the past, the Maryland people of the late twentieth century were enjoying the benefits of an advancing civilization. The qualities of contentment, peace of mind, happiness—these were elusive, as always; perhaps they were qualities of human nature more than of social well-being.

Conclusion

Let us assign grades, then, as a professor might, setting forth estimates of the quality of life for different levels in the Maryland social structure over five centuries. Like classroom grades, the estimates are arbitrary; different ones of us with the same evidence will disagree, although seldom by much, not nearly as much as students imagine. Table 3 provides estimates that the people of the past might have assigned for themselves. Table 4 provides estimates that we with our present historical perspective would assign. The two charts are different, although not ex-

Table 3: How People of the Past Might Have Estimated Their Quality of Life

(Estimates by Social Group: Excellent, Good, Fair, Poor, Bad)

Quality	Social Group	1550	1660	1770	1880	1990
Health, life expectancy, freedom from pain	Elite	Fair	Poor	Fair	Good	Excellent
	Comfortable	—	Poor	Fair	Good	<i>Excellent</i>
	Subsistence	<i>Fair</i>	Poor	Fair	<i>Poor</i>	Poor
	Servitude	—	Bad	Bad	—	—
Material comfort, food, housing possessions	Elite	Fair	Poor	Excellent	Excellent	Excellent
	Comfortable	—	Poor	Good	Good	<i>Excellent</i>
	Subsistence	<i>Fair</i>	Poor	Poor	<i>Poor</i>	Fair
	Servitude	—	Poor	Bad	—	—
Opportunity, security, freedom, social mobility, educational opportunity	Elite	Good	Fair	Excellent	Excellent	Excellent
	Comfortable	—	Fair	Good	Excellent	<i>Excellent</i>
	Subsistence	<i>Good</i>	Fair	Fair	<i>Poor</i>	Fair
	Servitude	—	Fair	Bad	—	—
Contentment, family and community associations, sense of purpose, autonomy and leisure, cultural institutions	Elite	Good	Poor	Good	Excellent	Good
	Comfortable	—	Poor	Good	Good	<i>Good</i>
	Subsistence	<i>Good</i>	Poor	Poor	<i>Poor</i>	Poor
	Servitude	—	Poor	Poor	—	—
Total Quality of Life	All Groups	Fair +	Fair -	Fair +	Good -	Good +

Italics: 60 percent or more of the population.

tremely different, suggesting bridges between judgment by the standards of the past and standards of the present. People of the past probably saw greater differences between the rich and the poor than we with our modern comforts judge them to be. The differences over time, as people judge themselves, are probably less than we are inclined to see.⁵⁴

There is an obviousness in our own evaluations of the quality of life over time, as there should be in a synthesis, but there are also some definite conclusions. One is the usefulness of well-being as a bottom line for social history. The particulars from the many fields of social history are infinite, but most of the particulars can be directed to the question of how well people lived. A second conclusion lies in the ability of well-being to be defined. Its dimensions are subject to relative or absolute measures, and to much redefinition, refinement, and weighting; people could be considered in other groupings, say by sex or race; but, however defined, the matter of well-being was central to the people of the past as it is central to our understanding of them today. This points, however, to a third conclusion: that any consideration of the quality of life is meaningful mainly in comparison with

Table 4: A Present Day Estimate of the Quality of Life in the Past

(Estimates by Social Group: Excellent, Good, Fair, Poor, Bad)

Quality	Social Group	1550	1660	1770	1880	1990
Health, life expectancy, freedom from pain	Elite	Bad	Bad	Fair	Fair	Excellent
	Comfortable	—	Bad	Poor	Fair	<i>Excellent</i>
	Subsistence	<i>Bad</i>	Bad	Bad	<i>Poor</i>	Good
	Servitude	—	Bad	Bad	—	—
Material comfort, food, housing possessions	Elite	Bad	Poor	Good	Excellent	Excellent
	Comfortable	—	Poor	Poor	Fair	<i>Excellent</i>
	Subsistence	<i>Bad</i>	Bad	Bad	<i>Poor</i>	Fair
	Servitude	—	Bad	Bad	—	—
Opportunity, security, freedom, social mobility, educational opportunity	Elite	Fair	Fair	Excellent	Excellent	Excellent
	Comfortable	—	Fair	Fair	Good	<i>Excellent</i>
	Subsistence	<i>Good</i>	Fair	Bad	<i>Fair</i>	Fair
	Servitude	—	Poor	Bad	—	—
Contentment, family and community associations, sense of purpose, autonomy and leisure, cultural institutions	Elite	Good	Poor	Excellent	Excellent	Good
	Comfortable	—	Bad	Good	Good	<i>Good</i>
	Subsistence	<i>Good</i>	Bad	Poor	<i>Fair</i>	Poor
	Servitude	—	Bad	Poor	—	—
Total Quality of Life	All Groups	Poor	Poor	Fair	Good -	Good +

Italics: 60 percent or more of the population.

different groups of people of a given time or in comparing people of one time with people of another. Good social history must be comparative.

A fourth conclusion both obvious and vaguely discomfoting is a reiteration of the idea of progress. Set aside short-term setbacks of war and depression, and concede that the gain from the sixteenth-century Indian society to the seventeenth-century frontier society is questionable, still, at least in Maryland and much of America, an ever larger portion of the people lived ever-better than a century before. The idea is discomfoting because we are still in reaction against historians of a generation or more ago who saw its inevitability, who relate it to human nature, or who saw it in political terms of evolving freedom and democracy. Even in the specific area of well-being there is no inevitability of improvement, for advance has depended on a continued growth of population, wealth, education, and technology—all of which may be coincidental to America and these five centuries. Even in the limited sphere of well-being, important groups have experienced decline—the native Americans with European colonization, African Americans in the colonial period, and possibly the elite of the twentieth century. For all

the qualifications, however, the improvement in the quality of life over five centuries for most of the people of Maryland—and for much of the United States—is an undeniable reality.

A final conclusion appears as we note the apparent centrality of technology as a source of improvement, not only in improving in an absolute sense almost every component of well-being, but also in elevating an ever-larger portion of the population into the upper ranks of the social structure. Social historians are rightly faulted for their inattention to causality and this essay is no exception. Many other forces have shaped well-being and social structure—economic forces, politics, ideas, environment—and all of them have shaped technology. Historians of technology are among the first to question the primacy of technology as a source of change or as a source of beneficence in the change that it promotes. Let us merely note the matter here: that in improving the quality of life over time the apparent proximate and beneficent effect of technology is larger than usually acknowledged.

Historians tend to be uncomfortable with large questions such as the quality of life and about changes of any sort that take place over five centuries. The quality of life, however, offers a bottom line for social history, and the large questions can help us with the particulars as well as the other way around.

NOTES

1. Major surveys are: Arthur Meier Schlesinger and Dixon Ryan Fox, eds., *History of American Life*, 13 vols. (New York: Scribner, 1927–1948); Mary Kupiec Cayton, Elliot J. Gorn, Peter H. Williams, eds., *Encyclopedia of American Social History*, 3 vols. (New York: Scribner, 1993); Peter N. Stearns, ed., *Encyclopedia of Social History* (New York: Garland, 1994); John K. Roth, ed., *Encyclopedia of Social Issues*, 5 vols. (New York: Marshall Cavendish, 1997).
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4. Douglas E. Ubelaker, *Human Biology of the Virginia Indians*, in Helen C. Rountree, ed., *Powhatan Foreign Relations, 1500–1722* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1993), 53–75; Mark Nathan Cohen, *Health and the Rise of Civilization* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 102–34.
5. Rountree and Davidson, *Eastern Shore*, 1–45; Helen C. Rountree, *Powhatan Indians of Virginia: Their Traditional Culture* (Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989), 32–78; Feest, “Nanticoke,” 240–52.
6. Rountree, *Powhatan Indians*, 79–118.
7. Lois Green Carr, Russell R. Menard, and Louis Peddicord, *Maryland at the Beginning* (Annapolis: Hall of Records Commission, 1984), 27–33; Russell R. Menard, *Economy and Society in Early Colonial Maryland* (New York: Garland, 1985), 109–58.
8. Menard, *Economy and Society*, 159–61; Gloria L. Main, *Tobacco Colony: Life in Early Maryland, 1650–1720* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), 14.
9. Russell R. Menard, P. M. G. Harris, Lois Green Carr, “Opportunity and Inequality in the Distribution of Wealth on the Lower Western Shore of Maryland, 1638–1705,” *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 69 (1974): 169–84; Menard, *Economy and Society*, 135; Gloria L. Main, “Inequality in Early America: Evidence from the Probate Records of Massachusetts and Maryland,” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 7 (1977): 559–81; Lorena S. Walsh, “Charles County, Maryland, 1658–1705: A Study of Chesapeake Social and Political Structure” (Ph.D. diss., Michigan State University, 1977); Russell R. Menard, “From Servants to Freeholder: Status Mobility and Property Accumulation in Seventeenth Century Maryland,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 30 (1973): 37–64; Ira Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1998), 29–46.
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17. Arthur Eli Karinen, “Numerical and Distributional Aspects of Maryland Population, 1631–1840” (Ph.D. diss., University of Maryland, 1958), 109–10; U.S. Census Bureau, *Historical Statistics of the United States*, 2 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1975), 2:1152, 1168; Kulikoff, *Tobacco and Slaves*, 120.
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25. James Horn, “Servant Immigration to the Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century,” in Tate and Ammerman, *The Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century*, 51–95; Russell R. Menard, “From Servants to Slaves: The Transformation of the Chesapeake Labor System,” *Southern Studies*, 16 (1977): 355–90; Menard, *Economy and Society*, 129, 246; Kulikoff, *Tobacco and Slaves*, 317, 240; Russell R. Menard, “The Maryland Slave Population, 1658–1730: A Demographic Profile of Blacks in Four Counties,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 32 (1975): 29–54; Allan Kulikoff, “A Prolific People: Black Population Growth in Chesapeake Colonies,” *Southern Studies*, 1 (1977): 348–391; Philip D. Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint Black Culture in the Eighteenth Century Chesapeake and Lowcountry* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 41.
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27. See, Aubrey C. Land, *Colonial Maryland: A History* (Millwood, New York: KTO Press, 1981), 179–205.
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Sowing the Seeds of Forest Conservation: Fred Besley and the Maryland Story, 1906–1923

GEOFFREY L. BUCKLEY and J. MORGAN GROVE

"We are no longer so rich that we can afford to waste our heritage."

— Fred Besley

During the first decade of the twentieth century, Maryland began in earnest to deal with a problem that government officials and conservationists were increasingly coming to view as a serious one. For more than 250 years, changes brought about by settlement, agricultural expansion, and industrialization had reduced forest cover across the state dramatically, altering forest composition and depleting the supply of important commercial species. In 1906 the State Board of Forestry was established and Fred Wilson Besley—an early graduate of the Yale School of Forestry and a protégé of Gifford Pinchot's—was appointed Maryland's first state forester. Over the next few decades, Besley and his staff worked assiduously to introduce professional forestry to the state, to establish a system of multi-purpose forest reserves, and to educate the general public, especially the private landowner, on the benefits of conservative forest management.¹

While much scholarly attention over the years has been devoted to our national parks and forests, considerably less has been dedicated to studying public lands movements at the state level. Although over thirty years old, Ralph R. Widner, ed., *Forests and Forestry in the American States: A Reference Anthology* and Freeman Tilden's *The State Parks: Their Meaning in American Life* remain the standard works in this field. A recent flurry of activity suggests a rekindled interest in state management of public lands. Contributions to the literature include, among others: Thomas R. Cox, *The Park Builders: A History of State Parks in the Pacific Northwest*; Neil Rolde, *The Baxters of Maine: Downeast Visionaries*; Paul Schneider, *The Adirondacks: A History of America's First Wilderness*; James Wright Steely, *Parks for Texas: Enduring Landscapes of the New Deal*; and Phillip G. Terrie, *Contested Terrain: A New History of Nature and People in the Adirondacks*.²

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As the titles listed above clearly indicate, much of what has been written has focused specifically on the establishment of state parks and not on the development of state forestry programs, although the two were often closely linked. Relying chiefly on State Board of Forestry documents and newspaper accounts, this paper aims to cast light on this neglected chapter of conservation history. More specifically, it examines the circumstances under which a professional forestry agency came to be established in Maryland, which was one of several states in the vanguard of the state forestry movement, by concentrating on the conservation strategies adopted by this fledgling agency and the leadership provided by Besley during the critical period from inception in 1906 to government reorganization in 1923.³

A National Overview

Beginning in the late eighteenth century, the U.S. Government embarked upon a program of transferring land from public to private ownership. By 1900 more than a billion acres of the public domain or half the land area of the contiguous forty-eight states had been transferred to private hands. From the nation's earliest days, political philosophers such as Thomas Jefferson believed that in a largely agrarian society, the private ownership of a farm—individual control of production—would help assure personal liberty, dignity, and economic security for the country's citizens. Unfortunately, the conversion of land into private property had many unintended social and ecological consequences. In the case of forested lands, significant wealth was created quickly by cutting down and marketing logs from vast forests, but the communities that developed and prospered around logging operations only lasted as long as the sustaining resource. When the forests were gone, the companies and their capital moved, leaving behind economically depleted communities with devastated landscapes. This pattern of "boom" and "bust" economic development, land abandonment, and degraded landscapes caused severe problems of rural, community, and regional social instability.⁴

In addition to the social consequences of changes in property regimes, logging, massive wildfires, and wildlife loss called into question the notion that forests were inexhaustible. Lumber production increased dramatically between 1850 and 1910, from 5.4 billion board feet to 44.5 billion board feet per year, a rate more than double the rate of population growth during that time. The volume of harvested timber greatly exceeded that of forest growth, yet no provisions for reforestation existed, and aside from a few experimental programs, no one practiced long-term forest management. Increased logging coupled with the absence of reforestation led to the loss in some areas of nearly 80 percent of forested lands within forty or fifty years. Fire was also an extensive problem.

Forest fires frequently consumed between twenty and fifty million acres per year (an area equal to the size of Virginia, West Virginia, Maryland, and Delaware combined). The loss of forest cover led to severe flooding during wet seasons, drought during dry seasons, soil erosion, and the loss of streams and rivers for transportation because of siltation. Previously abundant wildlife species were severely depleted or brought to near extinction—whitetail deer, wild turkey, pronghorn, moose, black bear, bighorn sheep, bison, beaver, herons, egrets, ibises, and the passenger pigeon—while the great auk was already extinct. Taken together, these changes set the stage for the American Conservation Movement.⁵

By the late nineteenth century it had become increasingly clear to Congress that the transfer of public lands into private ownership, and the subsequent abandonment of private lands, had created severe social and environmental consequences. The realization prompted Congress to recognize the need to retain some of the nation's lands in "public ownership" and manage them in the "public interest" as a buffer against complete privatization of all land. In 1891, President Benjamin Harrison established the first forest reserve, Yellowstone Park Timber Reserve, on federal land in Wyoming. Between 1891 and 1897, Presidents Harrison and Grover Cleveland set aside nearly 39.5 million more acres. In 1897 Congress established a mandate for managing the reserves with the purpose of their management (an authority system) specifically "to preserve and protect the forests" from forest fires and commercial exploitation, to "secure favorable conditions of water flows," and to "furnish a continuous supply of timber for the use and necessities of the citizens of the United States based upon sound, scientific principles." By 1907, Congress had renamed the reserves "national forests" and given Gifford Pinchot the title of Chief Forester of the United States Department of Agriculture forest service. The concept of public ownership of land had been established.⁶

In addition to managing federal forestlands, Pinchot's "scientific forestry" emphasized research and extension. For instance, while Chief of the Division of Forestry, Pinchot instructed his bureau to investigate the causes of forest fire and its consequences, examine problems associated with tree planting and reforestation, develop new uses for forest waste materials, and conduct "investigations in the chemistry of maple sugar, tree diseases, and methods of extracting turpentine." To educate the general public and private forest industries about scientific forest management, Pinchot offered the assistance of federal foresters. By 1905 owners of nearly three million acres had applied to the Division of Forestry to take advantage of this opportunity. Underlying the promotion of scientific forestry was a dramatic shift in the way political decisions were reached and carried out. As historian Samuel P. Hays notes, "Conservationists were led by people who promoted the 'rational' use of resources with a focus on efficiency, planning for future use, and the application of expertise to broad na-

tional problems. But they also promoted a system of decision-making consistent with that spirit, a process by which the expert would decide in terms of the most efficient dovetailing of all competing resource users according to criteria which were considered to be objective, rational, and above the give-and-take of political conflict. In short, they sought to substitute one system of decision-making, that inherent in the spirit of modern science and technology, for another, that inherent in the give-and-take among lesser groupings of influence freely competing within the larger system."⁷

Of course, the forest service was not the only government agency concerned with the loss of forest resources, scientific forestry, and the changing dynamics of political decision-making. Much was happening at the state level as well, although initiative and progress varied considerably from one state to the next.

The Roots of Forest Conservation in Maryland

In 1921, the National Conference on State Parks met for the first time in Des Moines, Iowa. The purpose of this gathering of some two hundred conservationists was "to urge upon our governments, local, county, state, and national, the acquisition of additional land and water areas suitable for recreation, for the study of natural history and its scientific aspects, and the preservation of wild life, as a form of the conservation of our natural resources; . . . to encourage the interest of non-governmental agencies and individuals in acquiring, maintaining and dedicating for public uses similar areas; and in educating the citizens of the United States in the values and uses of recreational areas." Realizing that America's increasing demand for recreational space could not be met simply by expanding the national park system, and further, that not all land suitable for a wide variety of recreational activities possessed the scenic value generally required for designation as a national park, those in attendance set out to establish a park system within every state.⁸

At the time of the meeting, it was duly noted that twenty-nine states did not possess a single state park. Among the states apparently lacking in this regard was Maryland. The question of whether or not Maryland possessed a state park in 1921 is more complicated than this simple tally suggests, however. According to Freeman Tilden, "A state park is any area of any size set aside for any type of recreation purpose, or as a historical memorial, or to preserve scenery or a natural curiosity, and *called* a state park." By this definition, Maryland's nascent system of forest reserves contained parcels that met all but the last of these requisites. To further obfuscate matters, contemporary state forest documents and newspaper accounts were already referring to the reserves as parks and promoting the recreational value of these tracts years in advance of the Des Moines meeting and decades before they received any such official designation. When viewed



Governor Theodore McKeldin presents a certificate of merit to Fred W. Besley in commemoration of the Golden Anniversary of the Department of Forests and Parks. (Courtesy of the Maryland State Archives, MSA SC 3933-462.)

in this light, one might judge Maryland to have been at the forefront, rather than bringing up the rear, of the aforementioned state parks movement.⁹

While the distinction between park and forest reserve at the beginning of the twentieth century was decidedly narrow, and the question of whether the Old Line State in fact possessed a state park was open to debate, the history of professional forestry in Maryland is far more certain. In 1906, Robert and John Garrett, grandsons of Baltimore and Ohio Railroad magnate John Work Garrett, donated three tracts of mountain forest to the state of Maryland. The donation was made on the condition that adequate means for the protection of the state's forests—both public and otherwise—be provided. The Garrett brothers' offer inspired McCullough Brown, President of the Maryland State Senate, and General J. B. Seth of Talbot County to draft the Maryland Forestry Conservation Act. As a result, the Office of the State Forester was established and Governor Edwin Warfield appointed Fred W. Besley to fill the position. Under the general supervision of the board, the state forester, among his many responsibilities, was to "direct the protection and improvement of State parks and forest re-

serves." The cornerstone thereby was laid for Maryland's current system of public lands and the State Board of Forestry came into being.¹⁰

Fred Besley was uniquely qualified for the position of state forester. A graduate of the Maryland Agricultural College in 1892, Besley was working as a school teacher in Virginia when a chance meeting with Gifford Pinchot, Chief of the Forestry Division of the Department of Agriculture, sparked in him what came to be a keen interest in forest conservation. By 1900, Besley was traveling around the country as one of Pinchot's forest assistants, gaining valuable field and surveying experience as well as indulging a new avocation, photography. During the winter months he and the other forest assistants were stationed in Washington, D.C., where they gathered regularly at Pinchot's home for meetings of the "Baked Apple and Gingerbread Club." In January 1903, having decided on a career in forestry, Besley moved his family to New Haven, Connecticut, where he enrolled at Yale University's School of Forestry. At the time, there were relatively few professionally trained American foresters, although demand for their services was increasing at both the state and national levels. With a degree in hand in 1904, Besley received a federal appointment and was soon back working for Pinchot. Two years later, he accepted the position as Maryland's first, and only the country's third, state forester, a position he occupied until retirement in 1942.¹¹

Originally, the Maryland State Board of Forestry consisted of seven members. In addition to the governor, the comptroller, the state geologist, and the presidents of Johns Hopkins University and the Maryland State Agricultural College, the board was to include "two practical men engaged in the lumber business." The board was given authority to purchase lands deemed suitable for forest reserves, using monies drawn from a forest reserve fund. In addition, the governor was permitted to accept gifts of land recommended by the State Board of Forestry with the stipulation that such areas be administered as state forest reserves and that gifts be absolute except for the reservation of mineral and mining rights. The board was also given authority to condemn land for the advancement of the forestry program.¹²

Initially, the problem Besley faced was a difficult one: how to stem the tide of indiscriminate cutting on private lands and ensure the long-term availability of forest resources for future industrial and commercial use. It was a particularly challenging task given that there were very few models upon which to base a conservation program. Besley adopted a multi-faceted strategy. It included conducting an exhaustive statewide survey of forest resources; adopting an aggressive fire management policy; introducing a program of reforestation; and expanding the forest reserve system. These measures served to slow down and in some cases even reverse the more disturbing trends that had characterized Maryland's recent forest history. Most important, however, foresters like Besley



Destruction resulting from logging at Keyser's Ridge, ca. 1920. (Courtesy of the Maryland State Archives, MSA SC3933-119.)

were well aware that the success of conservative forest management during this era rested on their ability to cultivate relationships with key legislators, the general public, and the media, a point Pinchot must have made emphatically when in the company of his forest assistants.¹³

Maryland's Forests: Assessing the Damage

In 1909, Fred Besley stated that “Just pride may be taken in the fact that Maryland has more detailed and accurate information concerning her forests than is known concerning the forests of any other State,” a reference perhaps to the first major project he had undertaken, a twenty-three-county survey of the state’s forested areas. Every woodland parcel of five acres or more was sketched on a Maryland Geological Survey topographic base map and the general characteristics of the tracts noted. A final map was then constructed at a scale of one mile to an inch. Hardwood stands were shown in red and divided into three broad classes—sapling, culled, and merchantable—which were distinguished from one another by use of symbols. Relatively pure stands of pine were shown in green on the forest maps and classified by species and size. Mixtures of hard-

wood and pine were shown by combinations of red and green. The survey, much of which Besley carried out on foot or in a horse and buggy, took approximately seven years to complete and is purported to be "the first accurate, detailed account of the forest resources of any state." If this was indeed the case, then the survey maps and reports compiled by the State Board of Forestry during the first ten years of its existence are particularly valuable, for they allow us to acquire an understanding of forest cover change in Maryland that predates that of other states.¹⁴

The survey maps and reports showed that the state's forest cover had been reduced considerably since first settlement and that the overall condition of the forests was relatively poor. Whereas Maryland's forests once covered upwards of 90 percent of the state's land area, by the time of the survey they occupied a mere 35 percent, and much of this was "brush land, bearing no merchantable timber of value." Besley estimated that forest clearance probably reached a peak about 1860, after which time gradual abandonment of cleared fields permitted forest regeneration.¹⁵

In addition to substituting cleared fields for forested areas, human activities were responsible for altering the distribution patterns of individual tree species. As agricultural fields in southern and eastern Maryland were abandoned and the forest regenerated, for example, pine was represented in larger numbers than had previously been the case. This was especially true in areas where well-drained and light sandy soils predominated. Thus the extent of pine forests was viewed as a good index of the amount of land formerly under cultivation. In the western portion of the state, pine, especially white pine, had been all but eliminated as an important commercial tree by the time the survey was conducted. Human-induced forest fires played a critical role in altering the composition of Maryland's forests as well, most notably causing reductions in less fire-resistant species.¹⁶

Just as forest type varied from one region of the state to the next depending on climate, soil, and relief, so too did forest conditions vary, according to patterns of ownership, commercial demand, and access to transportation facilities. With wood-using plants concentrated in Baltimore, Salisbury, and Hagerstown, Maryland's wood products industries were well situated with respect to key markets. Maryland's 1,400 miles of railway, 1,500 miles of improved state roads, and numerous water routes facilitated commerce within the state and placed it within easy reach of key cities: New York, Philadelphia, Washington, Richmond, and Wilmington. This well-developed transportation infrastructure also accelerated the process of deforestation.¹⁷

Broadly speaking, the effects of deforestation were considered to be more pronounced in southern Maryland owing to the region's long settlement history, while central Maryland at the time of the survey possessed the smallest percentage of forest cover. The mountainous western portion of the state main-

tained the highest percentage of forest cover at the time of the survey due, in part at least, to the region's unsuitability for agriculture. However, the forests of this section were rapidly being cut as steam-powered sawmills relentlessly penetrated the mountains.¹⁸

The State Board of Forestry was not the only government agency to comment on the deteriorating condition of Maryland's forests. In 1879, when the federal census bureau undertook a national tree count, the tidewater counties on either side of the Chesapeake Bay were identified as having particularly low densities of timber. In 1900 and again in 1906 the Maryland Geological Survey, under the direction of state geologist William Bullock Clark, took the opportunity to comment on forest conditions. With regard to the state's Appalachian region, Clark observed:

What little virgin forest there is in Maryland is located in inaccessible parts of this region. . . . Nearly all the merchantable coniferous trees have already been culled from the forests . . . and the hardwoods are now rapidly being cleaned out under the highly intensive system of lumbering which has lately been inaugurated in the region. Trees of nearly all species down to very small sizes are used for mine props and lagging. The prevailing forest condition is that of cut-over virgin forest, covered with a scattering growth of large, defective trees not suitable for lumber, interspersed with reproduction of hardwood sprouts and seedlings, and occasional patches of coniferous reproduction.

Another opinion was rendered by George B. Sudworth, a dendrologist in the Forestry Division of the U.S. Department of Agriculture. In reference to Allegany County in the western portion of the state, Sudworth opined: "It would be difficult to find a region in which the useful timber has been more generally removed than in this county."¹⁹

In addition to the spatial variations noted above, Besley remarked that the State Board of Forestry's surveys disclosed several striking facts concerning forest conditions during the early years of the twentieth century. First, the rate of growth ". . . is not sufficient to supply more than one-third of the present consumption," although the "heavy demand upon the forest capital" has not diminished. Second, the cut-over forests are in such poor condition and so poorly managed that their future productiveness is seriously impaired. Third, repeated forest fires across the state ". . . are accountable, in a large measure, for the poor quality of forest produce and the low yields, by checking the growth, and causing defective trees." And fourth, "the present stumpage price of timber is not high enough to thoroughly encourage conservative forest management."²⁰



Forest wardens ca. 1920s. (Courtesy of the Maryland State Archives, MSA SC 3933-482.)

Conservation Strategies

In 1917, Besley defined forest management as “the science of making woodlands pay — making them pay in wood, timber or other forest products, and so in money.” With the results of the county forest surveys no doubt still fresh in his mind he added: “Good management is made up of judicious cutting, careful

logging, efficient protection, and the encouragement of the better species; poor management allows promiscuous removal of valuable trees, lack of care in protecting those which are left, forest fires, and unrestricted grazing." Although forest fires were not new to Maryland, protecting the state's timber resource from blazes, both accidentally and intentionally set, quickly became a priority of the State Board of Forestry.²¹

State government documents and newspaper reports identified fire as one of the greatest threats to the long-term health of Maryland's forests at the beginning of the twentieth century. Commenting on the impact of forest fires in southern Maryland's Anne Arundel County, for example, Besley stated: "Forest fires continue to be the chief source of damage to the forest. There is a general lack of appreciation of the damage that fires do. In consequence most fires are the result of carelessness, and as the damage is not fully appreciated, the actual conditions must be forcibly expressed and the education of public sentiment encouraged fully. It is safe to say that the yield from the forests in the northern half of the county is to-day not one half of what it might normally be made, due largely to continued forest fires."²²

William Bullock Clark reached a similar conclusion after evaluating western Maryland's forests: "The prevalence of fires, following the severe lumbering, has greatly deteriorated the quality of the reproduction and second growth, so that the outlook for a valuable future crop is, at present, not bright." In addition to completely eliminating forest cover in some areas, fires had the effect, over time, of altering species composition: "Forest fires have . . . contributed toward changes in the representation of species by killing out those that are less fire resistant and creating openings which are then occupied by some of the light seeded species such as maple, red gum, birch, pine, etc. These changes have come about gradually over the entire state and have produced forests of quite different character from those that originally existed."²³

To say that forest fires were major news events during the first two decades of the twentieth century would be an understatement. Newspapers during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries abound with accounts of forest fires, both large and small, across Maryland and the United States, as well as editorials on fire fighting and fire prevention. How serious was the threat of fire? Serious enough that the *Baltimore Sun* estimated that forest fires in 1920 burned 22,072 acres and cost the state of Maryland \$83,502. Serious enough that the State Board of Forestry kept detailed records of every fire that burned in each of Maryland's twenty-three counties, whether one tree was damaged or several thousand acres destroyed. These records included information on the total number of fires that took place in a given year, the number of acres burned, the estimated damage incurred, and the amount of money required to extinguish the fire. The cause of each fire was also noted. Thus, curtailing the damage

caused by forest fires was one of the manifold tasks the State Board of Forestry set for itself. According to Nelson,

Fire protection has been a major activity of the department since its beginning. The present forest protection system covers the entire state although it is inadequate to fully control the problem. The administration of the forest protection system is carried on by the state forester, assisted by an assistant forester and three district foresters, stationed at various points throughout the state. Forest wardens, who now number 350, are secured by the district foresters. They receive a small rate of pay when actually engaged in suppressing fires. Conferences of the forest wardens for the discussion of the needs of forest protection, methods of fire prevention, and the like, are held annually when funds are available.²⁴

While vigorously promoting protection from forest fires, the State Board of Forestry also advocated a program of reforestation. The board's efforts to improve the condition of Maryland's forest resources took on many forms. Among these was an initiative to encourage roadside tree planting. Passed in 1914, the Roadside Tree Law conferred upon the State Board of Forestry the authority "to plant trees along the roadsides, to protect roadside trees, to establish one or more nurseries for their propagation, to prohibit the unauthorized placing of advertisements and other notices on the public highways or the property of other persons, and to provide a penalty for the violation thereof."²⁵

The following excerpt from Governor Albert C. Ritchie's speech, featured in the April 8, 1920, edition of the *Oakland Republican* ("Shade Trees Along the Public Highways of State — Beautifying of the State Roads of Maryland Next on Program"), reveals the extent to which the governor promoted this policy. "What a magnificent thing it will be for the next generation to have our roads lined with branching oaks, elms and other shade trees. Not only will these trees be ornamental, but they will also be factors in the elimination of dust and dirt. With shade trees lining her roads Maryland would be the most artistic state in the Union. As we have the best roads, we have also the beginning of the most artistic vistas of roads. I trust that residents along our public highways will seize Arbor Day as an occasion for the transplanting of saplings from nearby woods on the sides of roads."

The passage is also noteworthy for its reference to Arbor Day, "a time especially set aside for the planting of trees and bushes and generally executed with fitting exercises in many States throughout the country." The generous newspaper space devoted to coverage of Arbor Day tree planting is indicative of its relative importance on the calendar during these years, as well as the degree to



State Board of Forestry diorama promoting roadside tree planting, 1928. (Courtesy of the Maryland State Archives, MSA SC 3933-292.)

which the media advanced the cause of the State Board of Forestry. While school children in particular were engaged in Arbor Day planting activities, opportunities to participate in reforestation were not limited to the first day of April. Trees for planting could be acquired from the state's nursery at a modest cost, a point that was advertised and broadcast widely in numerous newspapers. As the *Oakland Republican* pointed out on March 4, 1920: "The State Nursery has proven to be one of the most popular branches of the Forestry Department and has done much toward promoting tree planting throughout the State." A survey of contemporary Maryland newspapers indicates that the state's reforestation efforts, especially its roadside tree-planting program, were winning plaudits from citizens and state government officials alike, as well as receiving high marks from the press.²⁶

One of the most effective means by which Besley and his small team of assistant foresters were able to inaugurate their program of conservative forest management was through educational outreach. Whether it was a presentation to the Elkton Women's Club on the virtues of planting shade trees, an informal talk before a gathering of camping enthusiasts, or a lecture to private landown-

ers on the merits of planting loblolly pine, the state forester and his assistants interacted with the public, wherever and whenever possible. As Beatrice Ward Nelson pointed out in 1928: "The department finds the education of the public in forestry work an important phase of its administration. Lectures are given before various organizations throughout the state. Lantern slides are available, special articles are published in newspaper and magazines, and special reports are prepared for state publications. Forestry exhibits are shown at county fairs and have been loaned to the schools for short periods." Here again, publicity from the press played an important role in establishing a positive relationship between the state and its citizens as the following introduction from an article in the *Bel Air Times* (March 18, 1921) clearly illustrates. At the request of that newspaper, "one of the most expert foresters in the State was requested to give his views on forestry in Harford, and the following article is the result. We hope that farmers will read it and adopt plans for replenishing our rapidly disappearing timber supply."²⁷

The importance of the State Board of Forestry's outreach program cannot be overstated. Considering that the vast majority of the state's forested lands were in private hands, it was absolutely imperative that Besley take advantage of every opportunity to communicate the principles of sound forest management to this wide and, at first, largely indifferent audience. One of the programs Besley developed involved having State Board of Forestry personnel serve as intermediaries between buyers and sellers of timber:

A method of selecting the trees to be cut and later marketing the product has been devised by the State Forester, and wherever tried it has worked out satisfactorily. The plan is for the State Forester, or one of his assistants, to examine the woodland upon application, go over the problems with the owner on the ground, and submit a plan of management for his consideration. This is done without cost except for the travel expenses of the forester. Then, if there is timber to be cut, and the owner desires it, the forester will furnish an expert to select the trees for cutting with reference to their present and prospective value. He also marks and measures them, the results being tabulated to show the number of trees of each kind by size and value. This part of the work is done at nominal cost . . . and his board and travel expenses. With two laborers to be furnished by the owner, 30 or 40 acres per day can be covered, and the results of measurements are afterwards worked up in the office of the forester, without additional charge. A statement is prepared giving accurate, detailed information to the owner, with a form of contract for the cutting of the timber, and a statement is prepared for sending to the sawmill and timber operators who are in the market for standing timber, of whom the State



Exhibit promoting Forest Protection Week, ca. 1925. (Courtesy of the Maryland State Archives, MSA SC 3933-296.)

Forester has a very complete list of about 1000 names. By this method those who buy timber are brought into direct touch with the man who has timber to sell.

According to the American Forestry Association, Besley was the first state forester to develop such a scheme, the result being that Maryland's program was replicated across the country.²⁸

In addition to protecting against destructive forest fires, restoring formerly forested areas, and educating the general public on issues of conservative forest management, the State Board of Forestry actively engaged in acquiring parcels of privately owned land to add to the state's system of forest reserves. The decision to build on the Garrett brothers' bequest was grounded in the belief that if left in the hands of corporate interests, certain parcels of cut-over land would never fully recover. With respect to western Maryland, for example, Clark advised that forest management "could best be carried on by the State rather than by private owners, as the long rotation required in this section to mature timber would not be as objectionable to the former as to the latter." Three years later

Besley echoed his colleague's sentiments. "The land could be purchased at low cost, and under State control and protection it could be made a valuable asset. . . . The purchase of such lands would be an investment and not an expense since they would eventually pay back all costs from the revenue derived." Forest reserve expansion was also favored by McCullough Brown, one of the drafters of the Maryland Forestry Conservation Act. According to the *Baltimore Sun*: "Declaring that there is small chance of hardwood timber stands in Western Maryland developing a maturity under private ownership, W. McCulloh (*sic*) Brown, president of the Maryland Forestry Association, last night proposed that the State take over at least 200,000 acres of land not adapted to agriculture in that section for production of timber as a State resource."²⁹

In western Maryland, the Garrett brothers' donation was followed by that of Henry and Julian LeRoy White, who donated their Garrett County estate, Herrington Manor, in 1917. The state then purchased a block of fifty-seven acres linking Swallow Falls with Herrington Manor. Another donation in 1907, this one in the vicinity of Baltimore, formed the nucleus for the Patapsco Reserve. Beginning in 1912, the state began purchasing land on either side of the Patapsco River to increase the size of this valuable holding. These resources were further enhanced in 1927 when the General Assembly authorized the formation of auxiliary state forests. Located adjacent to the state holdings, these areas were protected through agreements with private landowners and subject to the regulations which applied to the forest reserves with the stipulation that no state money could be used for permanent improvements. Taken together, these early forest reserves, as they were dubbed initially, formed the basis of Maryland's current system of state forests, parks, wildlife areas, natural environmental areas, natural heritage sites, and fish management areas, which now total more than 338,000 acres of publicly owned natural land.³⁰

How were these newly acquired resources to be utilized? There is ample evidence to demonstrate an economic purpose for the forest reserves. Besley's comments regarding the forests of Allegany County in western Maryland serve as an obvious example. He considered it to be "of the greatest importance" to make the lands as productive as possible. The county needed "a good local supply of timber to carry on the present industries, and to aid in their further development." Allegany's coal mines consumed "immense quantities of mine props, pit ties and mine rails," the railroads drew upon the forests for "large quantities of cross ties," telephone and telegraph companies utilized "thousands of poles" annually, and "saw mills and wood-using industries, with large amounts of capital invested and giving employment to hundreds of men, cannot be maintained without a cheap and abundant supply of timber." Thus, the need to establish forest reserves—to ensure that a reliable supply of wood would be available to support future industrial development and growth. Economic justifications for

adding to the forest reserve system can be found throughout the State Board of Forestry's publications, particularly the early ones.³¹

While protecting forest resources for future commercial use was certainly a priority, it was not the only reason for doing so. Although Maryland did not officially establish a state park until many years after the Des Moines gathering, government documents and newspaper accounts prove beyond a doubt that the forest reserves, or portions of them at least, were set aside for recreational and other purposes. In a 1919 publication entitled *The State Reserves of Maryland: A Playground for the Public*, assistant forester J. Gordon Dorrance presented the case for recreation. In the introduction, Dorrance states: "The term 'Reserve' means, literally, some place kept in store, held back for future use. It is the intention of the Maryland Board of Forestry that it shall practically apply as reserved, but for public use *now*. It is very well to safeguard the water, and protect the land; but modern forest practice has its best office in making actual contribution to the public weal and wealth. It is with this thought that the State Reserves of Maryland are thrown open for generous use by all the people of the State." Regarding the Patapsco Reserve, Dorrance was more to the point:

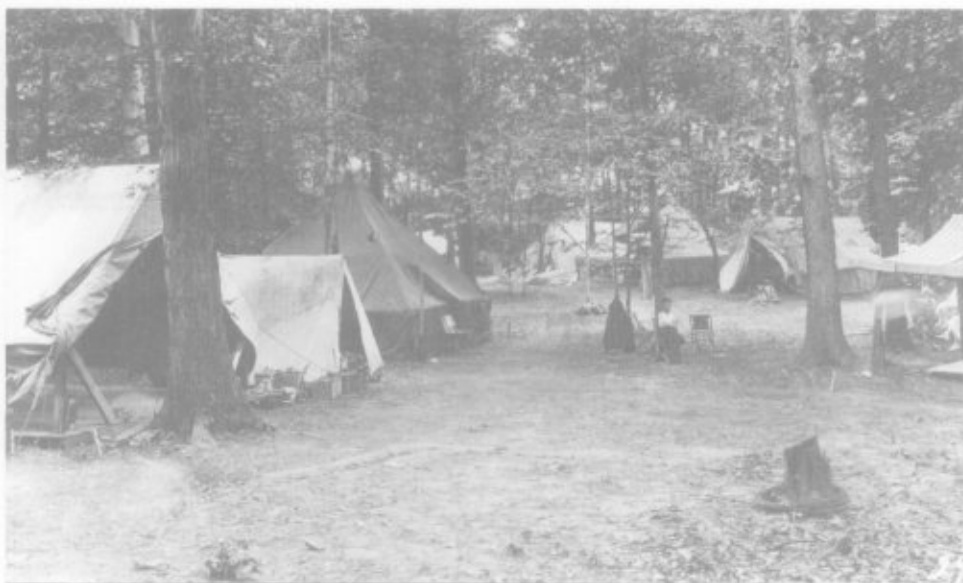
Nearer to Baltimore, so near, in fact, as almost to be called a city park, is the Patapsco State Reserve. Maryland owns here 916 acres, chiefly of wooded land, with the addition of over 1,000 acres which are open to the public, with full park privileges in return for the protection which the Board gives to its respective owners in the matter of patrol against trespass and fire. The entire Reserve is essentially a protection and a recreation forest. Prior to 1912 this region was only a piece of attractive country: two high, sloping banks with a cover of timber, a winding river between; it was close to Baltimore; it seemed to have some natural possibilities as a park; and its forests covered and protected the watershed of the Patapsco, thus affecting in a measure the harbor of the city. . . . Under the management of the Board its attractions are being protected and so far as possible enhanced, and the Patapsco Reserve made ready for free use by the people of this State.

In addition to discussing access to various points in the reserve via the railroad and roads, Dorrance referred specifically to the advantages offered by outdoor camping and the need for city dwellers to rejuvenate themselves in a non-urban setting. "In certain ways the short vacation weeks are the most important of his year: in them such mental kinks and twists as have been snarling up through months of office and routine must be eliminated and straightened out; muscles well softened by disuse must be rebuilt by exercise and unaccustomed 'stunts' to which the man has grown a stranger; the color of the city is to be replaced by the reds and browns and blistered tans which intimate association with the fields

and forests, the streams and swamps and open roads will brand on its habitues. The vacation is not alone a let-down from the usual. To be of greatest good it must entail a change, and a complete one."³²

Dorrance's comments are not limited to the Patapsco Reserve. Regarding Maryland's Appalachian section, he remarked that they offer "a sight of one of the State's few places where he may look away from a high-up point or ridge and see the forests almost as they were, dark, thick, covering all, as far as the eye can reach, with a mantle green and waving in the wind, which was put upon the mountains for a purpose." In profiling the forest reserves of Garrett County, Dorrance marveled at their beauty, while noting that relatively few Marylanders visited them because they are "not part of a thickly peopled district." The Maryland Board of Forestry, though, recently had become convinced "that if the people of Maryland had a better understanding of how to enjoy the five large forest parks within their reach the knowledge would stand them in good stead when it came to the investing of a vacation which might be spent on any part of several thousand acres offered free for use and readily and cheaply accessible from any point." Reading like a latter-day travel brochure, Dorrance went on: "Located in Garrett County, in the higher altitudes of Western Maryland, the Skipnish, Kindness, Swallow Falls, and Herrington Manor Reserves will appeal to those who like their vacations seasoned with a little wild life, a dash of the woods and the mountains, and withal a vivifying atmosphere." Dorrance added that "It is possible and convenient to leave Baltimore on Friday night, spend Saturday and Sunday at the parks, returning Sunday night, and reaching Baltimore at 8.32 on Monday morning." From May 1 to September 30 the B&O sold "special-rate summer tickets" from Baltimore to Oakland. More than a mere description of the state's forest holdings, *The State Reserves of Maryland: A Playground for the Public* was nothing less than a state-sponsored advertisement for Maryland's growing system of public lands. By increasing the number of visitors to these recreational areas, the State Board of Forestry must have reasoned that gaining support from the general public for their activities (including future acquisitions) was absolutely necessary to ensure success.³³

In addition to the State Board of Forestry reports, numerous newspaper accounts from the 1920s support the contention that the State Board of Forestry was interested in developing the resources of the forest reserves for recreational purposes. The *Evening Sun* of January 21, 1921, noted that "State Forester Besley" was pushing the Patapsco Forest Reserve "as a recreation and camping ground for Baltimore people." Another account, titled "Patapsco's Pretty Scenery and Natural Beauty Thrill Campers and Nature Lovers," is particularly noteworthy for its romantic imagery. There was about the place a "healing touch in the contact with the spirit of Nature, and especially at the time of midsummer fullness, quiet and peace." In preserving "this wild, natural beauty," Besley



Camping in the Patapsco State Forest, Hutzler Camp, summer 1921. (Courtesy of the Maryland State Archives, MSA SC 3933-179.)

and his assistants were making it possible for Marylanders who could not go to Maine or Canada “to get as close to Mother Nature as in the wild and unexplored regions of the North. On the slopes rising up from the river in thick virgin forest land, traversed by springs and streams, ideal camp sites have been staked out. Some derive their beauty from the view; others from proximity to the river; and some because they are built right on the edge of a leaping mountain cascade.” The article noted that Besley, his wife, and two of their children were spending a month “in a camp overlooking the upper most rocky basin of one of these lovely cascades,” and added that “To be entertained at the Besley camp is a pleasure long to be remembered. Not 10 feet away from the open-air dining tent the water rushes over the rocks of Upper Falls. One goes to bed in the big Army tent, with its ‘double-decker’ cot in the middle and its pine needle couches on either side, to the sound of this music and wakes up with it in the morning.”

Woven throughout these and other articles, not to mention Dorrance’s report, is the idea that urban residents, even the state forester and his family, needed purification in a rural setting, a theme not uncommon to the period. While the economic purpose of the forest reserves cannot be disputed, historical evidence indicates that recreational and other factors played a role in their establishment and expansion.³⁴

Perhaps the best justification or set of justifications for conserving Maryland’s forest resources and expanding the state’s system of public lands was articulated

while, does not afford the same degree of control over practical demonstrations as is generally possible when they are conducted on public lands. . . . The second reason for acquiring public forests and parks (and one as important as the first reason cited) is to make sure that the public benefits are safeguarded from private monopolistic use. . . . Another very good reason for the establishment of State Forests and Parks is to provide for the public's recreational needs. Forests and parks provide an opportunity to hunt, fish, hike, camp, picnic, and study nature. The pursuit of these activities is becoming increasingly difficult because of the growing resentment of landowners to the public use of their lands. The only satisfactory answer thereto is the acquisition of public lands for these purposes. A fourth reason for acquiring State Forests is purely economic. The timber growth on much of our land is so depleted that private owners are not disposed to wait for another crop. As a consequence, little attention is given to such areas. Taxable wealth is thereby lost, and the more productive lands are forced to assume additional tax burdens. . . . We are no longer so rich that we can afford to waste our heritage. State Forests and parks represent an excellent medium for conserving public values in the use of wild lands, which would otherwise be lost through private exploitation.³⁵

It is revealing that no national forests were ever established in Maryland. Enabling legislation was passed in 1908 that would have permitted the federal government to purchase lands within the state for national forests but the General Assembly repealed the law in 1927. A similar tension between those who favored conservation at the state level and those who advocated federal involvement appeared in 1920, at the first national conference of the newly formed Association of State Foresters, in which Col. W. B. Greely, chief of the U.S. Forest Service, squared off against Gifford Pinchot, then Commissioner of Forestry of Pennsylvania. "Directly opposite views in regard to control of forests were voiced late today before the conference," the *Baltimore Sun* reported. "Colonel Greely held that the States should be encouraged to go just as far as they will in reforestation, while Mr. Pinchot held there should be a national forest policy." None other than Fred Besley was appointed this body's first president.³⁶

Long before most states were even contemplating a program of forest conservation, Maryland was responding to a potentially serious timber crisis. Under the guidance of a professionally trained state forester, a scarce commodity at the time, the newly-formed State Board of Forestry conducted an exhaustive statewide survey of forest resources, developed a strategy to deal with destructive forest fires, introduced forest conservation practices to private landowners, devised an innovative plan to link timber sellers with timber buyers, and laid

the groundwork for a system of forest reserves that would become multi-purpose public lands intended to serve the needs of timber operators and recreationists alike. To convert skeptics or others indifferent to the goals of professional forestry, a field relatively few people could claim to be familiar with at the time, Besley and his assistant foresters used the press adroitly to advance their conservation programs and win support from the general public. By providing public park and recreation opportunities within the forest reserves, Besley effectively created an agency with a dual mission—a model that the state continues to follow to this day.

While a detailed investigation of Maryland's early experience with professional forestry no doubt enhances our understanding of the state forest and parks movement and, possibly, the public lands movement in general, perhaps there is a more valuable lesson to be drawn from the research. As the new century unfolds private property rights activists marching under the broad banner of the wise-use movement continue to challenge the legitimacy of a wide range of federal conservation policies governing access and use of public lands. More than ever we must remind ourselves that forest conservation at the state level has a long history as well, and further, that efforts to set aside land in public trust have deep roots in many of the nation's state capitols. Similarly, we must reacquaint ourselves with the reasons why states instituted professional forestry programs in the first place and why they deemed it necessary to transfer considerable portions of land from private to public hands. These roots of public stewardship at both the state and federal level may still be the roots that safeguard a legacy of land conservation for the future.³⁷

NOTES

1. Edna Warren, "Forests and Parks in the Old Line State," *American Forests*, 62 (October 1956): 13–25, 56–77; Jack Temple Kirby, *Poquosin: A Study of Rural Landscape and Society* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 219–21.
2. Thomas R. Cox, *The Park Builders: A History of State Parks in the Pacific Northwest* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1988); Neil Rolde, *The Baxters of Maine: Downeast Visionaries* (Gardiner, Me.: Tilbury House Publishers, 1997); Paul Schneider, *The Adirondacks: A History of America's First Wilderness* (New York: Henry Holt & Company, Inc., 1997); James Wright Steely, *Parks for Texas: Enduring Landscapes of the New Deal* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1999); Phillip G. Terrie, *Contested Terrain: A New History of Nature and People in the Adirondacks* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1999); Ralph R. Widner, ed., *Forests and Forestry in the American States: A Reference Anthology* (Washington, D.C.: National Association of State Foresters, 1968); Freeman Tilden, *The State Parks: Their Meaning in American Life* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970).
3. A notable exception is William H. Rivers' chapter, "Massachusetts State Forestry Programs," in Charles H. W. Foster ed., *Stepping Back to Look Forward: A History of the Massachusetts Forests* (Cambridge: Harvard Forest Press, 1998). With respect to Maryland's early

efforts at conservative forest management, Kirby writes in *Poquosin*, "Maryland's program must be deemed a huge success, and a model for the lackadaisical commonwealths to the south" (221).

4. Douglas W. MacCleery, *American Forests: A History of Resiliency and Recovery* (Durham, N.C.: U.S. Dept. of Agriculture, Forest Service, in cooperation with the Forest History Society, 1993); Paul W. Hirt, *A Conspiracy of Optimism: Management of the National Forests Since World War Two* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994); Keith D. Wiebe, Ababayehu Tegene, and Betsey Kuhn, "Land Tenure, Land Policy, and the Property Rights Debate," in *Who Owns America?: Social Conflict Over Property Rights*, Harvey M. Jacobs, ed. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1998), 79–93; Stephen Fox, *The American Conservation Movement: John Muir and His Legacy* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1981).

5. MacCleery, *American Forests*.

6. MacCleery, *American Forests*; Hirt, *Conspiracy of Optimism*, 29; Gordon G. Whitney, *From Coastal Wilderness to Fruited Plain: A History of Environmental Change in Temperate North America, 1500 to the Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994). In the introduction to *Forests and Forestry in the American States: A Reference Anthology*, Widner argues that forest conservation in the U.S. truly began at the state and not the federal government level, a clear reference to the establishment of New York's Adirondack State Park.

7. Samuel P. Hays, *Conservation and the Gospel of Efficiency: The Progressive Conservation Movement, 1890–1920* (New York: Atheneum, 1969), xii–xiii, 29, 32.

8. Tilden, *State Parks*, 4; Robert Shankland, *Steve Mather of the National Parks*, 3rd ed. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1951), ch. 14; Sylvia Haines Elliott, "The Impact of Concession Operations on Heritage Resource Interpretation in the State Parks of Alaska and the Pacific Northwest" (M.A. Thesis, University of Oregon, 1994), ch. 3.

9. Tilden, *State Parks*, 11; Beatrice Ward Nelson, *State Recreation: Parks, Forests and Game Preserves* (Washington, D.C.: National Conference on State Parks, Inc., 1928). Fred W. Besley's, *The Forests of Maryland* (Baltimore: Maryland State Board of Forestry, 1916) and *Report for 1910 and 1911* (Baltimore: State Board of Forestry, 1911) make reference to state parks, as does J. Gordon Dorrance's, *The State Reserves of Maryland: "A Playground for the Public"* (Baltimore: Maryland State Board of Forestry, 1919). Numerous newspaper articles and handbills also refer to the reserves as parks prior to 1921. Dorrance, in particular, promotes the idea of tourism in the forest reserves. Much of Dorrance's report was reprinted in the *The Methodist*, July 15, 1920.

10. Ross Kimmel, Offutt Johnson, and Dorna Cooper, *Three Centuries of Service: The History and Tradition of Maryland Rangers* (Annapolis: State of Maryland, Department of Natural Resources, 1994); Maryland Legislature, *Forest Laws of Maryland, Acts of 1906*, chapter 294, "An Act to establish a State Board of Forestry and to promote forest interests and arboriculture in the State," as amended in chapter 161, Acts 1910, and chapter 823, Acts of 1914; Robert and John W. Garrett, April 10, 1907, Garrett Bequest to the State of Maryland. Liber 54, folio 425, Land Records of Garrett County. As the following passage from the bequest clearly indicates, the Garrett brothers were prepared to withdraw their gift if the state did not comply with their request to institute a program of forest conservation: "Provided, however, that if within the period of the next twenty-five years from the date hereof, the said State of Maryland should neglect or fail to carry out the provisions of said Forestry Act, or abandon the property hereby donated, then the title to the said several tracts and parcels of land shall revert to the said donors . . . [who] shall have the right to take over the possession of said tracts of land, and hold them the same as if said gift had not been made." Offutt Johnson, *Park Naturalist*, Patapsco Valley State Park, notes that these lands were com-

pletely denuded at the time the donation was made. According to Warren (*Forests and Parks*, 15), Brown may have received assistance from Gifford Pinchot in writing the Maryland Forestry Conservation Act.

11. Widner, *Forests and Forestry*, 92–93; Gifford Pinchot, *Breaking New Ground* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1947); Will Barker, "Maryland's First State Forester," *American Forests*, 62 (October 1956): 38, 77–84.

12. *Baltimore News*, January 19 and May 16, 1906; Nelson, *State Recreation*.

13. In Gifford Pinchot's *The Training of a Forester*, 4th ed. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1937), 63, the author admonishes foresters to develop a solid rapport with the general public, noting that "In a peculiar sense the Forester depends upon public opinion and public support for the means of carrying on his work, and for its final success." For a review of Pinchot's public relations efforts see Stephen Ponder, "Federal News Management in the Progressive Era: Gifford Pinchot and the Conservation Crusade," *Journalism History*, 13 (January 1986): 42–48 and Char Miller, "Old Growth: A Reconstruction of Gifford Pinchot's *Training of a Forester*, 1914–1937," *Forest & Conservation History*, 38 (January 1994): 7–15. Austin Hawes provides a state-level perspective in "Connecticut: Scattering the Seeds," in Ralph R. Widner ed., *Forests and Forestry in the American States: A Reference Anthology* (Washington, D.C.: National Association of State Foresters, 1968), 103.

14. Fred W. Besley, *Maryland's Forest Resources: A Preliminary Report*, Forestry Leaflet No. 7. (Baltimore: Maryland State Board of Forestry, 1909), 3; Barker, *State Forester*, 38; Warren, *Forests and Parks*, 19; Fred W. Besley, *The Forests of Maryland* (Baltimore: Maryland State Board of Forestry, 1916), 41.

15. Fred W. Besley, "The Forests and Their Products," in *The Plant Life of Maryland* (Baltimore: The Maryland Weather Service, 1910), 363, 376.

16. Besley, *Maryland's Forest Resources*; Fred W. Besley, *The Forests of Allegany County* (Baltimore: Maryland State Board of Forestry, 1912); Besley, *Forests and Their Products*, 364; Besley, *Forests of Maryland*, 47–48.

17. Fred W. Besley, *The Wood-Using Industries of Maryland* (Baltimore: Maryland State Board of Forestry, 1919). For a brief examination of deforestation and recovery on a national scale, see Douglas W. MacCleery's "Resiliency and Recovery: A Brief History of Conditions and Trends in U.S. Forests," *Forest & Conservation History*, 38 (July 1994): 135–39. More detailed treatments abound. Among the best is Michael Williams's *Americans and Their Forests: A Historical Geography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

18. Besley, *Forests and Their Products*.

19. Kirby, *Poquosin*, 219; William Bullock Clark, *Maryland Geological Survey: Allegany County* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1900); William Bullock Clark, *Report on the Physical Features of Maryland: Together with an Account of the Exhibits of Maryland Mineral Resources Made by the Maryland Geological Survey* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1906), 247–48; George B. Sudworth, "The Forests of Allegany County," in *Maryland Geological Survey: Allegany County* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1900), 279.

20. Besley, *Forests and Their Products*, 379.

21. Fred W. Besley, *The Forests of Anne Arundel County* (Baltimore: Maryland State Board of Forestry, 1917), 225.

22. Fred W. Besley, *Report for 1920 and 1921* (Baltimore: State Board of Forestry, 1921); Fred W. Besley, *Report for 1922 and 1923* (Baltimore: State Board of Forestry, 1923); Besley, *Forests of Anne Arundel*, 221; Besley, *Forests and Their Products*, 364–65.

23. Clark, *Physical Features of Maryland*, 248.

24. Timothy Cochrane, "Trial By Fire: Early Forest Service Rangers' Fire Stories," *Forest & Conservation History*, 35 (January 1991): 16–23; *Baltimore Sun*, April 1, 2, 16, and May 6, 1920; January 9, 16, 26, February 5, 6, 19, and May 18, 1921; *Baltimore News*, April 16 and May 3, 1920; March 5, 1921; *Oakland Republican*, May 19, 1921; Nelson, *State Recreation*, 111.
25. Maryland General Assembly, Forest Laws of Maryland, Acts of 1914, Chapter 824, "An Act conferring power upon the State Board of Forestry to plant trees along the roadsides, to protect roadside trees, to establish one or more nurseries for their propagation, to prohibit the unauthorized placing of advertisements and other notices on the public highways or the property of other persons, and to provide a penalty for the violation thereof," as amended in Chapter 548, Acts of 1916.
26. *Baltimore Sun*, March 22 and April 9, 10, 1920; March 31, April 2, 21, 25, and May 21, 1921; *Baltimore News*, March 11, 30, and 31, 1921).
27. *Berlin Advertiser*, July 16, 1920; *Cecil Whig* (Elkton), January 22, 1921; *Easton Gazette*, February 18, 1921; Nelson, *State Recreation*, 111.
28. Besley, *Forests of Anne Arundel*, 218; Fred W. Besley, "Forestry Leaflet No. 18," in *Report for 1914 and 1915* (Baltimore: State Board of Forestry, 1915); Garrett, Bequest to the State of Maryland.
29. *Sun*, February 9, 1921; Clark, *Physical Features of Maryland*, 247–48; Besley, *Maryland's Forest Resources*, 8–9.
30. Association of Southeastern State Park Directors, *Histories of Southeastern State Park Systems* (October 1977); Dorrance, *State Reserves of Maryland*; Nelson, *State Recreation*; Kimmel, *Three Centuries of Service*, 14.
31. Besley, *Forests of Allegany County*, 5.
32. Dorrance, *State Reserves of Maryland*, 7.
33. *Ibid.*, 9. The reference to the B&O Railroad is an important one. In the introduction to his report, Dorrance states: "This leaflet, as it now appears, is in large part a reprint and extension of one prepared earlier by the Board of Forestry, and published in 1916 by the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad."
34. For a more detailed discussion of the value of parks to urban residents, see David Schuyler, *The New Urban Landscape: The Redefinition of City Form in Nineteenth Century America* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986), 59. See also Roy Rosenzweig and Elizabeth Blackmar, *The Park and the People: A History of Central Park* (New York: Henry Holt, 1992).
35. Fred W. Besley, "State Forests and Parks," in *The Forest Resources and Industries of Maryland* (Baltimore: Maryland Development Bureau of the Baltimore Association of Commerce, 1937), 184–85.
36. Nelson, *State Recreation*, 112; *Baltimore Sun*, December 9, 1920.
37. Recent additions to the growing body of "property rights" literature include: Philip D. Brick and R. McGregor Cawley, eds., *A Wolf in the Garden: The Land Rights Movement and the New Environmental Debate* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1996); Peter J. Hill and Roger E. Meiners, eds., *Who Owns the Environment?* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1998); Harvey M. Jacobs, ed., *Who Owns America?: Social Conflict Over Property Rights* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1998); Robert H. Nelson, *A Burning Issue: A Case for Abolishing the U.S. Forest Service* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1999).

Maryland and Tolerance

HARRY S. TRUMAN

On the evening of March 27, 1945, the Maryland Historical Society met for its Maryland Day meeting to hear an address by Vice President Harry S. Truman. Sixteen days later, he would succeed to the presidency of the United States. In light of recent events, we thought it timely to reprint the address in its entirety from Volume 40 of the *Maryland Historical Magazine*.

It is a special pleasure to be here in Baltimore tonight with the Maryland Historical Society. It is an extra privilege, to be here with my good friend, and colleague, Senator George L. Radcliffe, President of your distinguished Society. Your Society has already completed a century of service and education.

The Free State of Maryland has a glorious history, which must be carefully preserved to inspire other Americans to revere the past and to face boldly the future. Of all the thirteen original states, Maryland stood out as a real champion of tolerance and freedom. While many other states began as a haven for religious freedom for one faith, Maryland extended that freedom, not merely to those of the faith of Lord Baltimore, but also to those of all other religions as well. Truly, Maryland became and has remained, the Free State, the progressive and liberal link between the North and the South.

Fully one hundred years before the Father of our Country, George Washington, was born, King Charles I granted to another George called Calvert, the first Lord Baltimore, a charter to all land between the Potomac River and the 40th parallel. After much dispute, the latter boundary finally was moved slightly south to become our famous Mason-Dixon line, which post-bellum good-will has gradually transformed into a bridge of friendship, instead of a border between intolerant opposition.

It is difficult to realize that Maryland is one of the smaller States of the Union, with only seven being smaller in size. This is merely another classic example of the importance of a State far beyond its physical size. For Maryland, the great champion of real democracy, has made its historical influence felt a tremendous distance beyond its borders, just as great ideals cannot be confined to physical limits. You members of the Maryland Historical Society also are rendering a lasting service far beyond the borders of Maryland. All America can well be inspired by the annals of your historic State, by the deeds of your inspiring leaders, who had the courage and the fortitude to stand boldly for tolerance, when it required real character to withstand the passion of religious bigotry.

At the Nation's Capital, in front of the Archives Building on Pennsylvania Avenue, there stands a monument under which is inscribed the statement, "What is Past is Prologue." Those five words describe, as well as I know how, what you members of the Maryland Historical Society realized years ago. Truly, all history is but an introduction to the future. The greatest tragedies in history have been made by people who did not read and analyze history.

History, of course, does not, actually repeat itself. Unfortunately, certain people do, however, repeat history in its less happy chapters. The pages of history remain open for all to read. They stand as an eternal warning against the tragic disasters of the past. Before the world, even greater disasters may be wafting for those who will not read the record of time.

Happily, however, thoughtful people, who appreciate the real importance of history, have worked long and hard to preserve the precious heritages of the past. These act as living milestones to guide us and help avoid the mistakes of the former generations. Of course, every generation must meet new problems in light of new developments, but surely, they must profit by the experience of the past.

Science informs us that the preservation of experience is one of the basic differences between rational human beings and animals. The former should profit by the history of their race, tragic though it may be, while the latter must learn anew, the hard way, with each new generation.

As rational human beings, there surely can be little of more importance than that of preserving the precious heritage of the past. This is the one secure record which will help us find our way into the difficult future. All available records seem to indicate that the future will be what we Americans make it.

America is confronted today with the greatest problem in its long history. In Colonial days, we struggled for survival. At the present, we are charged with the grave responsibility of leading the entire world to a sound order, an order which will guide suffering humanity to the haven long sought, the haven which the Colonials of Calvert's day thought they would find, and did find, along the shores of the Chesapeake.

At no time in the entire history of the world is there a greater call for tolerance. The fires of bigotry and hatred have been fanned for years by the enemies of democracy. The poison of intolerance has again been injected into the social blood stream of America. There is no lasting cure except that found in the impartial records of history. Only dispassionate and accurate information can lead mankind back to the road to reason.

When enemy agents are working overtime to confuse the issues, and to deny the facts of democratic vitality, the important service of historical societies can hardly be over estimated. For decades millions of people have been misled by the propaganda of our enemies. They hate tolerant people. There remains only one cure for the deadly disease suffered by these people. It is the cold light of sound

reason. The diatribe of demagogues cannot withstand the impartial scrutiny of students of history.

Your contributions of the past century to help Americans retain a proper perspective are of lasting value. We as a Nation have made many mistakes which could have been avoided if we had had the adult wisdom obtained only by hard *experience*—a common synonym for history.

It is obvious that we should not expect all Americans to profit from the experience of the past. It is the rare individual indeed who has the intellectual fortitude to rise above personal experiences. That is where the historical societies of the entire world may make contributions, which cannot be measured by material standards. Ultimately, if we do not profit by the past, we are doomed to repeat mistakes in the future.

The future may be far more complicated than any historical society would dare to predict. Your real contribution consists in presenting the facts of the past. The past is the potent key to the future. There is frequently fundamental difference of opinion as to historical events, and the proper evaluation of these events is possible only in the clear light of truth. For sound progress we must face the facts.

We of the democratic world have many disagreeable facts to face. Our enemies cannot be conquered by force alone. We must help to reeducate them to the ideals of truth. Truth is a virtue which scientists and historians always seek. However, for years, our opponents have conditioned their people against acceptance of this most simple of all virtues.

Throughout history truth has suffered under the prolonged attack of partisan propaganda. When the history of this tragic era has been written it will reveal that many liberal souls have died to advance the ideals of truth and justice.

At no time in the annals of mankind has there been a greater need for the spirit of tolerance. The tragic failure to realize the essential necessity for practical tolerance is one of the basic failures of our time. Only the records of history, will help all of us to keep our perspective, and achieve harmony and brotherhood among men.

While intolerance is running rampant throughout the world, we need more friendly people, like those who first pioneered the Free State of Maryland. America requires the aid of such people to guide the world to basic ideals.

In the years to come our world will have many hard problems to solve. I feel confident that Americans fully intend to have their say as to the future destiny of mankind on this shrinking planet. Americans never were prone to follow others meekly. On the contrary, history records our people usually among the leaders, especially when the public welfare is involved.

No matter how grave the post-war problems may be, I am sure that our American sense of proportion and our regard for our glorious past will see us through to victory. Like the brave pioneers of Maryland, we shall continue to do our task with characteristic American energy and enthusiasm.

The most pressing problem before us remains the winning of the war at the earliest possible moment to save precious human lives. That requires a mighty national effort and united harmony on the home-front.

Surely, this is no time for petty, partisan politics. This is a time for greater national, unity—for greater sacrifice for our national interests. Both winning the war and winning the peace are not partisan objectives. They are the all essential American objectives. They must be attained if our country is to continue to exist and prosper. Let us, therefore, all close ranks and remain strongly united until these vital ends have been accomplished.

When the last gun is fired on some remote enemy stronghold, we must still continue the ceaseless crusade for a just and durable peace. When we recall the heartache and suffering caused by this world-wide conflict, we must dedicate our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor to the cause of lasting peace. This requires patience and persistence—tolerance and time. When the people of the world fully realize that the public welfare is really the supreme law, we may at last have real peace on earth—and lasting good will toward all mankind!

O say can you see ~~through~~ by the dawn's early light,
 what so proudly we hail'd at the twilight's last gleaming,
 whose broad stripes & bright stars through the perilous fight
 O'er the ramparts we watch'd, were so gallantly streaming?
 And the rocket's red glare, the bomb bursting in air,
 gave proof through the night that our flag was still there,
 O say does that star-spangled banner yet wave
 O'er the land of the free & the home of the brave?

On the shore dimly seen through the mists of the deep,
 where the foe's haughty host in dread silence reposes,
 what is that which the breeze, o'er the towering steep,
 As it fitfully blows, half conceals, half discloses?

Now it catches the gleam of the morning's first beam,
 In full glory, reflected now shines in the stream,
 'Tis the star-spangled banner — O long may it wave
 O'er the land of the free & the home of the brave!

And where is that band who so vauntingly swore,
 That the havoc of war & the battle's confusion
 A home & a Country should leave us no more?
 — ~~Their blood~~

Their blood has wash'd out their foul footsteps' pollution.
 No refuge could save the hireling & slave
 From the terror of flight or the gloom of the grave,
 And the star-spangled banner in triumph doth wave
 O'er the land of the free & the home of the brave.

O thus be it ever when freeman shall stand
 Between their lov'd home & the war's desolation,
 Blest with vict'ry & peace may the heav'n rescued land
 Praise the power that hath made & preserved us a nation!
 Then conquer we must, when our cause it is just,
 And this be our motto — "In God is our trust,"
 And the star-spangled banner in triumph shall wave
 O'er the land of the free & the home of the brave. —

Portfolio

Star-Spangled Patriotism

As dawn slowly broke across the Chesapeake on September 14, 1814, a young lawyer and poet, courteously but firmly detained on board a British warship, peered into the gloom for signs that the defenders still held Fort McHenry, the small star fort guarding the entrance to Baltimore's harbor. All night the British had stood off, out of range of the fort's guns, and methodically bombarded it, apparently reducing it to rubble. Shell after shell had crashed into the fort's ramparts until they were obscured by rain and a sulphurous blanket of smoke. But surprisingly, with the dawn, the defenders' fired their morning salute. The British fleet turned south, away from the city, and as they did, the fort's victorious garrison of citizen-soldiers defiantly hoisted their magnificent flag, thirty feet high and forty-two feet wide. Overcome with relief, Francis Scott Key took up his pen and wrote his now-famous poem.



Francis Scott Key (1779–1843)

Originally titled "The Defense of Fort McHenry," and set to the music of a British tavern song, this jubilant air quickly became popular, first in Baltimore and then throughout the country. Twice in little more than a generation Americans had defeated the most powerful nation in the world. The victory prompted an outburst of nationalism that became part of the American psyche. In the 187 years since an unidentified Baltimore printer first circulated Key's poem, the song has remained a fundamental part of American culture. In times of threat and crisis, Americans find spiritual reassurance in patriotic music.

The society's "Star-Spangled Banner" sheet music collection contains renditions of the song used to rally soldiers in wartime, encourage citizens on the home front, and celebrate victory. Some were published as single scores and others in collections of popular anthems. All reflect the spirit of American patriotism inspired by Key's poem.

"The Defense of Fort McHenry," by Francis Scott Key. Printed in the city shortly after the Battle of Baltimore, this 1814 broadside is the first published version of the poem.

DEFENCE OF FORT MCHENRY.

The famous song was composed under the following circumstances.—A gentleman had left Baltimore, in a flag of truce for the purpose of getting released from the British fleet, a friend of his who had been captured at Marlborough.—He went as far as the mouth of the Patuxent, and was not permitted to return lest the intended attack on Baltimore should be disclosed.—He was therefore brought up the Bay to the mouth of the Patuxent, where the flag vessel was kept under the guns of a frigate, and he was compelled to witness the bombardment of Fort M'Henry, which the Admiral had boasted that he would carry in a few hours, and that the city must fall. He watched the flag at the Fort through the whole day with an anxiety that can be better felt than described, until the night prevented him from seeing it. In the night he watched the Bomb Shells, and at early dawn his eye was again greeted by the proudly waving flag of his country.

Tune—ANACREON IN HEAVEN.

O! say can you see by the dawn's early light,
What so proudly we hail'd at the twilight's last gleaming,
Whose broad stripes and bright stars through the perilous fight,
O'er the ramparts we watch'd, were so gallantly streaming?
And the Rocket's red glare, the Bomb's bursting in air,
Gave proof through the night that our Flag was still there;

O! say does that star-spangled Banner yet wave,
O'er the Land of the free, and the home of the brave?

On the shore dimly seen through the mists of the deep,
Where the foe's haughty host in dread silence reposes,
What is that which the breeze, o'er the towering steep,
As it fitfully blows, half conceals, half discloses?
Now it catches the gleam of the morning's first beam,
In full glory reflected new shines in the stream,

'Tis the star-spangled banner, O! long may it wave,
O'er the Land of the free and the home of the brave.

And where is that band who so vauntingly swore
That the havoc of war and the battle's confusion,
A home and a country, shall leave us no more?
Their blood has wash'd out their foul footsteps' pollution.
No refuge could save the hireling and slave,
From the terror of flight or the gloom of the grave,
And the star-spangled banner in triumph doth wave,
O'er the Land of the Free, and the Home of the Brave.

O! thus be it ever when freemen shall stand,
Between their lov'd homes, and the war's desolation,
Blest with vict'ry and peace, may the heav'n rescued land,
Praise the Power that hath made and preserved us a nation!
Then conquer we must, when our cause it is just,
And this in our motto—"In God is our Trust."
And the star-spangled banner in triumph shall wave,
O'er the Land of the Free, and the Home of the Brave.

2

The ANACREONTIC SONG
as Sung at the Crown and Anchor Tavern in the Strand
the Words by
RALPH TOMLINSON Esq. late President of that SOCIETY.
London Printed by Longman & Broderip, N. 26, Chancery Lane (Printed by)

To ANACREON in Heav'n, where he sits in full Glee, A few Notes of Harmony

First a Ballad, That his dear Lu. spires and Poets would buy when first

Anders as, it's from the JOLLY OLD GARDIAN's Voice, Fiddle, and Voice, in

longer be more, 'Till lead you my Name and is... after you to hear, And, he...

...Glee, 'Till before you the may, as is, when, The Myrtle of VENUS with BACCHUS'S Vine.

Ralph Tomlinson, Esq., *The Anacreonic Song, as Sung at the Crown and Anchor Tavern in the Strand* (London: Longman and Broderip, 1779). Baltimoreans set Key's poem to the music of this British tavern song.

Opposite: *New Edition, Star Spangled Banner* (Baltimore: T. Carr Music Store, 1816). This popular edition illustrates the bombardment of Fort McHenry.

New Edition

STAR SPANGLED BANNER

Written by

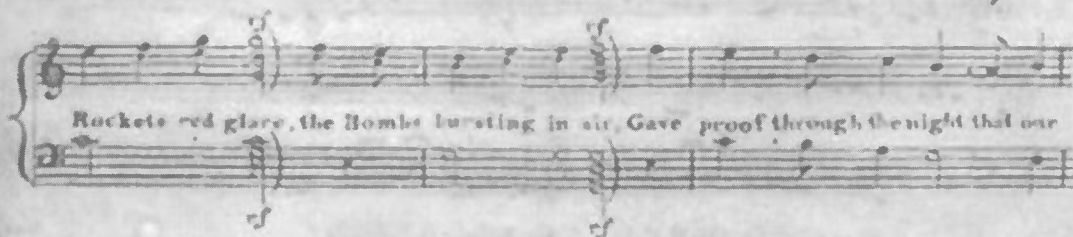
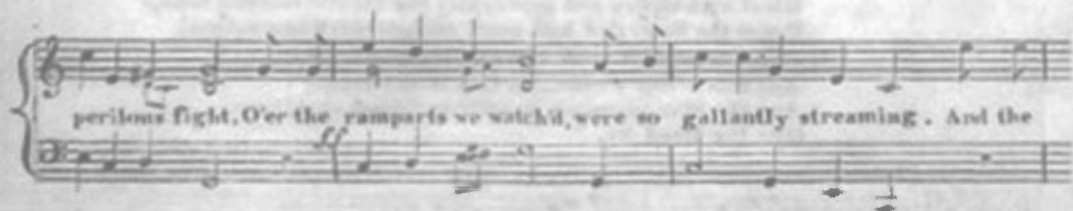
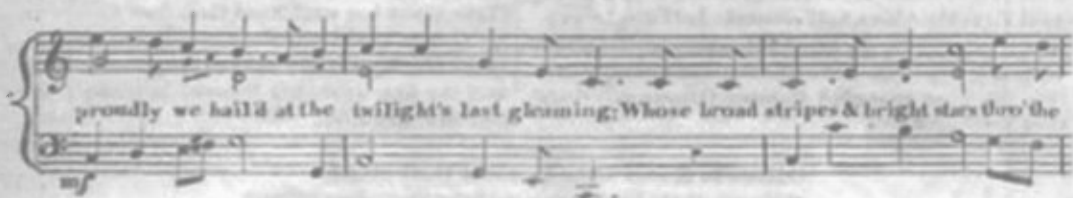
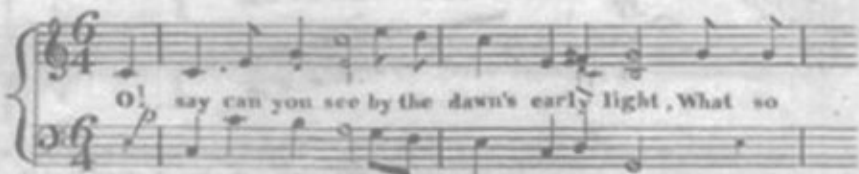
B. Key Esq.

Written during the Bombardment of Fort M^c Henry

on the 12 & 13th Sept 1814

Published and Sold by T. CARH, Music Store Baltimore.

With spirit.





Philip P. Werlein, *Grand March of the 1st Mississippi Regiment of Volunteers, in Which Is Introduced, The National Air the Star Spangled Banner* (New York: F. Riley and Co., 1847). Published during the Mexican War, this composition is dedicated to the future president of the Confederate States of America.



Francis Rziha, *Star Spangled Banner as a Waltz* (Baltimore: W. C. Peters, 1850). The year after the Mexican War ended, the anthem appeared as a waltz.

T. D. Sullivan, *The Ball Room Spanish Dance, Introducing Several Beautiful Airs, As Danced at All Fashionable Assemblies and Played by Daly's Quadrille Band* (New York: John J. Daly, 1861). "The Star-Spangled Banner" is no. 8 in this collection.



J. W. Turner, *Star Spangled Banner Quick Step* (Boston: Oliver Ditson & Co., 1861). Civil War music publishers sold thousands of new editions. Most composers wrote for vocal performances, but some arranged the anthem for dances and marches.

40

NATIONAL MELODIST

STAR SPANGLED BANNER. RONDO BY BEYER	STAR SPANGLED BANNER. JYNNY BY VOLS.
STAR SPANGLED BANNER BY SPINOLLE	STAR SPANGLED BANNER BY BECHT.
HAIL COLUMBIA	YANKEE DOODLE BY A LADY
YANKEE DOODLE	MARSEILLES HYMN. A LADY
MARSEILLES HYMN	YANKEE DOODLE RONDO BY BEYER
HAIL COLUMBIA. RONDO BY BEYER	LINCOLN QUADRILLE BY WENDEL

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NEW YORK,
Published by S. T. GORDON, 706 Broadway.

Opposite: F. Beyer, *Star Spangled Banner*, Rondino (New York: S. T. Gordon, 1861). Right, Louis Selle, *Star Spangled Banner* (Brooklyn: Paul K. Weizel, 1864). Below: A. W. Berg, *The Star Spangled Banner* (New York: James G. Gregory, 1861). Note below the fort inside the letter B.





Charles Fradel, *First German Rifle March, Introducing the Patriotic Star Spangled Banner* (New York: J. Schuberth and Co., 1861). Patriotic anthems for Civil War regiments also came off press.

T. Bissel, *The Star Spangled Banner for 4 hands* (New York: S. T. Gordon, 1861).



Charles Voss, *Star Spangled Banner* (Philadelphia: Andre and Co., 1861).

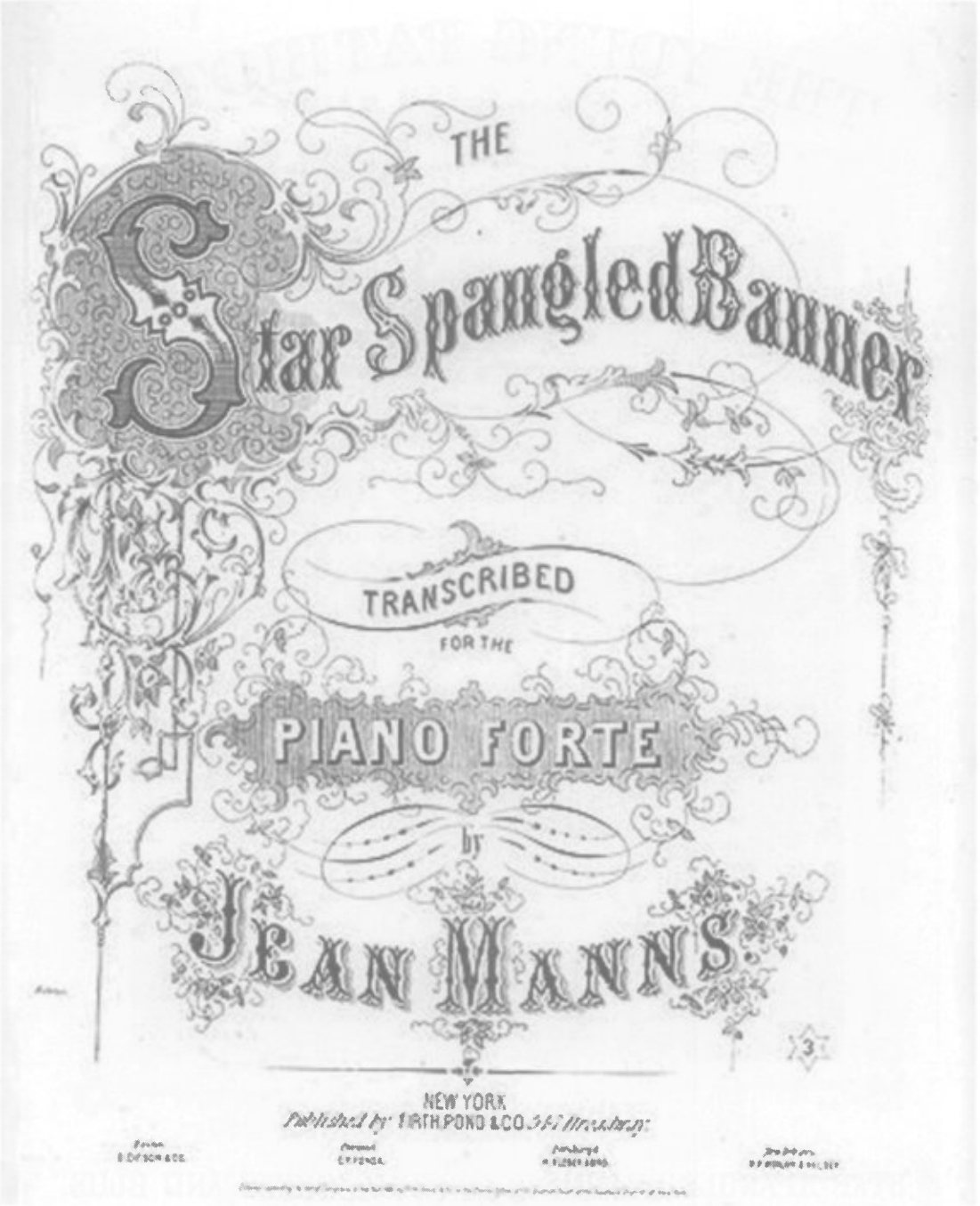
THE YOUNG PATRIOTS.



STAR SPANGLED BANNER.
HAIL COLUMBIA.

RED WHITE AND BLUE.
& YANKEE DOODLE.

E. Mack, *The Young Patriots: The Star Spangled Banner, Hail Columbia, Red, White, and Blue, and Yankee Doodle* (Philadelphia: Lee & Walker, 1862). New editions for citizens on the home front included this elegantly designed collection.



Another homefront edition was Jean Manns, *The Star Spangled Banner Transcribed for the Piano Forte* (New York: Firth, Pond, and Co., 1861). Opposite: C. Grobe, *Music of the Union* (Boston: Oliver Ditson & Co., 1888).

Piano 188


MUSIC OF THE UNION.

INSTRUMENTAL.		VOCAL.	
Bray and Hazy Grand March, Warren.	60	America,	35
America,	Beyer, 35	Columbia, the Gem of the Ocean, Shaw.	35
Hail Columbia,	Beyer, 35	Hail Columbia,	35
Hail Columbia,	Oesten, 35	Flag of Our Union,	Wallace, 35
Music of the Union,	Grobe, 60	Our Flag is There,	35
Star Spangled Banner,	Beyer, 35	Rally Round the Flag, Bradbury.	35
Star Spangled Banner,	Oesten, 35	Star Spangled Banner,	35
Yankee Doodle,	Beyer, 35	Yankee Doodle,	35
Yankee Doodle,	Oesten, 35		

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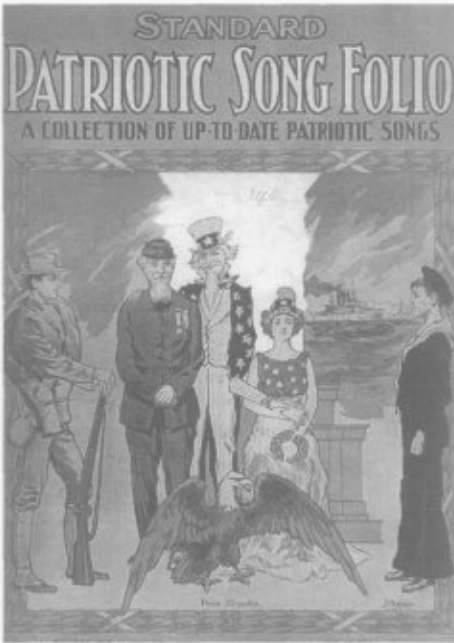
18

PATRIOTIC SONGS



AMERICA.	.35
AMERICAN HYMN, (<i>SPEED OUR REPUBLIC</i>) M. KELLER	.35
BANNER OF THE SEA. H.G. GANSS	.50
BATTLE HYMN OF THE REPUBLIC.	.35
COLUMBIA THE GEN OF THE OCEAN. DAVID T. SHAW	.40
DIXIE'S LAND. DAN. D. EMMETT	.40
FLAG OF OUR UNION. W. VINCENT WALLACE	.35
HAIL COLUMBIA. PROF. PHOEA	.40
OUR FLAG IS THERE.	.40
RALLY ROUND THE FLAG. WM. B. BRADBURY	.35
STAR SPANGLED BANNER. MR. SAMUEL ARNOLD	.35
STAR SPANGLED BANNER. MC. SAMUEL ARNOLD	.35
TENTING ON THE OLD CAMP GROUND. WALTER KITTREDGE	.40
YANKEE DOODLE.	.40
YANKEE DOODLE GUARD YOUR COAST, (<i>A NEW VERSION</i>)	.40

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LONDON. GUTHRIE & CO.



Left, *Standard Patriotic Song Folio. A Collection of Up-To-Date Patriotic Songs* (Philadelphia: Eclipse Publishing, 1917). Key's anthem helped rally American support for the Spanish-American War, the great "race for empire," and World War I. Note political cartoonist Thomas Nast's Uncle Sam, a new patriotic icon for late-nineteenth-century Americans.

Right: *The Star Spangled Banner* (New York: Century Music Publishing Company, 1917).





The Star Spangled Banner (Philadelphia: Modern Enterprises, 1939). Right, *The Star Spangled Banner* (Wautoma, Wisconsin: H. J. Kent, 1943). This edition of the now-official national anthem came into print on the eve of America's entry into the Second World War.

Research Notes & Maryland Miscellany

“The Peculiar Circumstances of Their Unhappy Birth and Colour”: Bennett Darnall’s Children in the Early National Chesapeake

SEAN CONDON

In the winter of 1814, the clerk of the court in Anne Arundel County, located on Maryland’s lower western shore, recorded the last will and testament of Bennett Darnall of Portland Manor. In most respects, Darnall’s bequests were quite typical of a wealthy Chesapeake planter. He divided his considerable landed estate (which totaled more than one thousand acres) and slaveholdings (including one hundred men, women, and children) among his four sons Nicholas, Henry, William, and Philip. The balance of Darnall’s will was far from commonplace. After distributing all of his productive property to his sons, Darnall identified all four as the children of one of his slaves: “I do hereby declare that my four sons herein mentioned . . . are the children of Susanna formerly my slave but now deceased, and are the same whose names . . . are included in a deed of manumission bearing [the] date on or about the fifth day of May 1805 executed by myself.”¹

As Philip Morgan has recently pointed out, explicit evidence of interracial relationships during slavery, especially in the Chesapeake, is very rare. Extremely few slave owning testators in the Upper South unambiguously acknowledged their interracial offspring.² Bennett Darnall’s case is noteworthy because he explicitly identified the background of his children. His case is also significant because it appears that Darnall wanted his children to follow in his footsteps and become tobacco planters on his land—in effect, Darnall sought to transform slaves into slave owners.³ Using court records, especially proceedings from

Dr. Condon is Lecturer in History at Messiah College.

the county's orphan's court, and the state chancery court, we can gather some idea of what happened to Darnall's children. It appears that at least one of the two oldest sons agreed to follow the path his father had planned for him, becoming a slaveowning farmer on a portion of his father's land. The experience of the two youngest sons was quite different. Because of some pressure from the neighborhood, as well as an unwillingness to become slaveowners, Henry and Nicholas never settled on the land they inherited. Instead, after prolonged legal proceedings where even their status as free people came into question, the whole estate was sold to support Nicholas's life in the Philadelphia area.

We know much more about Bennett Darnall's death than his life, and most of what we do know concerns who and what he owned, rather than what he did or believed. It is quite clear that during his life Darnall was one of the wealthiest people in the state. In 1790, when less than one Maryland slaveowner in a thousand owned more than a hundred slaves, Darnall owned 153. Ten years later the census-taker counted only 111 enslaved men, women, and children in Darnall's household. While it is unclear what caused this reduction in his workforce, a similar decline was experienced by other wealthy slaveowners, such as Charles Carroll of Carrollton, who reduced his slaveholdings considerably in response to the depressed economic conditions of the last years of the eighteenth century.⁴ Whatever the cause for the smaller number of slaves, Darnall remained one of the largest slaveowners in the state throughout his life. At his death in 1814, his estate included 102 slaves, and his personal estate was appraised at over \$30,000. (The mean total value for inventoried estates in Anne Arundel County in the first fifteen years of the nineteenth century was a little less than \$2,900).⁵

Bennett Darnall was the great-grandson of Colonel Henry Darnall, who immigrated to Maryland in 1672. A prominent Catholic, Henry Darnall served as a deputy governor to Lord Baltimore and was granted a sizable portion of Portland Manor in the seventeenth century. Henry Darnall died in 1711 and bequeathed part of the manor to his grandson Henry, who was Bennett Darnall's father.⁶ It does not appear that Bennett took part in Revolutionary-era politics, so we have little idea of his public life, and other than his will we have little knowledge of his private life. There is no record of him ever having been married, and we know nothing about Susanna, other than the fact that she gave birth to the four children mentioned in the will, that she was manumitted by Darnall in 1805, and that she died before Darnall wrote his will in 1810. We can suggest that Darnall's white neighbors did not shun him because of his unconventional relationship. At least one other elite Chesapeake slaveowner, Ralph Quarles of Virginia, had a long-term relationship with an enslaved woman, whom he made mistress of his household. This behavior, as well as his antislavery views, made Quarles an outcast among his white neighbors.⁷ Darnall, however, seems

to have had quite close connections in the neighborhood, for he lent significant sums of money to many neighbors, and at least one prominent planter nearby noted in his diary in January of 1814, "B. Darnall died [on the] 22[nd] after [a] short illness." In March the same man noted that "Many deaths this winter and many of my old friends," including Darnall.⁸

It is also unclear exactly why Darnall explicitly and publicly explained his relationship with the enslaved woman he called Susanna. It is certainly true that Darnall was not married, so he did not have to worry about surviving family members contesting the will in court, which was often the case when white planters left wills directing the emancipation of their enslaved children.⁹ But while Darnall decided to leave his property to his sons, it was not necessary for him to explain who their mother was, or even that the four were his children. Elite white males who had children as a result of long-term relationships with enslaved women at some time might admit that they had illegitimate, interracial children, but they did not usually identify who the mother was. For example, William Paca, three-term governor of Maryland in the 1780s, sought medical attention from Benjamin Rush for Hester, his "natural daughter," after Paca had enrolled Hester in a boarding school in Philadelphia.¹⁰

For those very few slave owners who did acknowledge the mothers of their interracial children, historians have tended to argue that such actions most likely fit the category of end-of-life utterances intended to clear uneasy consciences.¹¹ It is unlikely that, fearing that he was on his deathbed, Darnall decided to "come clean" about the unconventional details of his private life by freeing his children and announcing his relationship. He had already filled out and executed three different deeds of manumission—one in 1802 for the three oldest sons, another in 1805 reiterating freedom for the sons and freeing their mother, and a third in 1810 that included all four sons. Darnall also wrote his will four years prior to his death, and he later penned two lengthy codicils, one in 1812, and one early in 1814.

It is also unlikely that Darnall wanted to make the case that widespread mixed-race unions and manumission was the way to resolve the problems that a number of Chesapeake elites believed were caused by racial slavery. In other words, it is unlikely that Darnall was motivated to identify his children in quite the same way as Zephaniah Kingsley, a slave trader turned planter who married an enslaved African woman and who argued publicly that manumission should be encouraged, because it provided a powerfully positive incentive for slaves to labor productively.¹² While Darnall did not make any public pronouncements on the subject, the limited evidence available suggests that he was much more likely to sell off slaves as a punishment rather than manumit them as a reward. In 1802, Bennett and his brother Richard advertised for the return of "any of their Negro men that had absconded under a pretence of freedom." Bennett and

Richard promised a reward of ten dollars for each man returned or secured in a local jail. After explaining the terms, the Darnalls added that they "will immediately have for sale a great number of healthy, likely Negroes . . . all of whom may be had on moderate terms." Two weeks later, Bennett Darnall again advertised, noting that seven men were still at large, and an eighth, Jem, had gone "to the Eastern Shore during the harvest last summer, and not yet returned, under a pretence of mowing grain." Bennett Darnall twice more advertised that he had slaves for sale and on at least two separate occasions advertised for the return of multiple runaways.¹³

What does seem clear, from the way the will is worded, is that Bennett Darnall wanted to solidify the legitimacy of his heirs and situate them solidly on his family's land. He seemed to fear that his young sons might face some legal challenges to their status as free men. In his will, he noted that the extra deeds of manumission were "for greater caution fearing that the said former deed might not be sufficiently discriptive of the persons intended."¹⁴ But despite this concern, he was quite clear that he wanted the land to remain in the control of his sons. He began his will by delineating the pedigree of his property. He gave to his son Nicholas ("and his heirs forever") the land called Portland Manor, "which was bought from John Darnall by my uncle Philip Darnall and which was given to me by my said uncle." Darnall divided the property quite unequally: the two oldest sons, William and Philip, were given small tracts of land and very few slaves, while the two youngest sons, Henry and Nicholas, were given the great bulk of the estate. Though the bequests were unequal, Darnall did provide land and slaves to each of his four sons. Despite the increasing legal (and social) exclusions and restrictions facing free people of African descent, Darnall seemed to believe that his sons would be able to remain peacefully on their land.

It appears that he was being forthright about their background, but he did not think that that would keep them from enjoying all of his estate and replacing him as the owners of productive land and slaves. It also appears that others did not find it difficult to understand his decision. John Mercer, the guardian appointed for Darnall's two young sons, did not believe that their case would merit undue attention. In a letter to the orphan's court asking to be relieved of his guardianship, Mercer explained that when he was named guardian, he had been planning to take a two-year trip to Europe but thought that he would still be able to perform the duties of guardian by appointing an attorney to handle the actual business of guardianship. After "more serious reflection however, and upon conversing with my most discreet friends indeed upon learning the nature of public comment upon the subject," he realized that this case could not be handled like most. He believed that "the real and imputed magnitude of their fortune, [and] the peculiar circumstances of their unhappy birth and colour can but afford Just grounds for the idle and malignant" to say that he only ac-

cepted the guardianship so he could bilk the estate.¹⁵ At the time, the two youngest sons were living in the Philadelphia area, where they were attending school, while the eldest, William, had already been living on his own parcel of land for more than five years.

Approximately two months after Bennett's death, his son petitioned the orphan's court for the return of his slaves, who had been taken by Jonathan Shaaf, Bennett Darnall's executor. Shaaf hoped to liquidate the property in order to provide for the two youngest sons, who were minors at the time of their father's death, because the children were very young and because, as Shaaf told the orphan's court, the estate was of a "perishable and wasteful nature."¹⁶ William, one of the two sons already on his own, argued that Shaaf had no right to take his slaves away, because his father, "being desirous to settle him on a plantation adjoining to the place whereon the said Bennett Darnall lived in consideration of natural love and affection," granted him land in March of 1809, after William had finished school. In addition to the land, William was also given eight slaves, a gun, and two teams of horses, "with the assurance that the said property was for his own use and benefit." William further declared that he had immediately begun to farm the land, called the "Old Field," located about a mile and a half from his father's house, that "the said land was attended and work[ed] by said Negroes under the sole direction and management of William until the death of his father," at which point Shaaf returned the slaves to the property of the estate, over William's objections.

To buttress his case, William had two neighbors testify on his behalf. The first, William Weems, verified that Bennett Darnall had given William a gun several years before, and that William was in possession of the gun until his father's death. A second deposition in support of William was made by William Cowley, who stated that the summer before Bennett Darnall died, he had approached the elder Darnall to ask if he could "turn some calves to pasture on the part of his land called old field plantation which was then in the possession and culture of William Darnall." Bennett Darnall told him that he would have to ask William to get permission to use the pasture land. "Bennett Darnall told this deponent that he had nothing to do with the place that he had given the land and six or seven negroes the stock and everything that was on the said plantation to his son William Darnall for a support and to do with as he thought proper."¹⁷ It is important to point out that neither Weems nor Cooley note the race of William, and it is also noteworthy that William's father executed a plan to have his son operate a farm right near his own home plantation. It is unclear what happened to Philip Darnall, although a "Philip Darnell" living in southern Anne Arundel County did place an advertisement in 1824 seeking the return of an enslaved man named Peter, who piloted a packet that traveled between Annapolis and Baltimore.¹⁸

While William sought to stake out his claim as slaveowner, his two younger brothers never again lived on their land following the death of their father. Ten years after Bennett's death, Robert Welch, the guardian of Henry and Nicholas, petitioned the chancery court on Nicholas's behalf in order to have the land sold and the proceeds given to the two young men, who had remained in the Philadelphia area ever since their father had died. Welch's petition included two reasons why Nicholas wanted to sell the land. First, Nicholas "was himself a colored person and descended from a slave," and because of that background he had "conscientious scruples against the practice of slavery."¹⁹ Therefore, if he was forced to maintain those lands without using enslaved laborers, "it would render it most unpleasant and unprofitable to him . . . in a slaveholding state where it is not possible to work such lands without employing slaves in the cultivation of tobacco and other planted crops." Nicholas did not want to use enslaved labor, and that would make it very difficult for him to make a living on Maryland's lower western shore. Unless Nicholas was able to turn the property into "a more satisfactory and profitable fund, the said infant will . . . be deprived of the full enjoyment of this Estate bequeathed to him by his father." Welch went on to say in his petition that while it might be true that working tobacco lands without slaves would be unprofitable, if not impossible, that did not provide a basis to sell off his land before he reached adulthood. Welch therefore added an argument to try to convince the judges to allow Nicholas to sell the land:

It cannot be denied that at least one half the value of any property must be lost to the individual possessing it who is compelled to hold it in a community where he does not stand upon the same political and civil rights as other members of society and where he is subjected to . . . many degrading and burthinsome disabilities that he must almost prefer abandoning his property to retaining it under such a pressure.

It appears that the court was persuaded by at least one of these arguments, for in June 1825 Robert Welch of Ben, the guardian of Nicholas Darnall, placed an advertisement offering Portland Manor, which he identified as "the residence of the late Bennett Darnall, Esquire," for sale. In addition to the land, which totaled over 1,257 acres, Welch also planned to sell all the plantation utensils, stock, and any corn, wheat, and tobacco that remained on the plantation. Whoever bought the estate had to promise to provide for the elderly slaves who remained. "There are on the estate sundry superannuated slaves, which must be considered an appendage to, and purchased with the estate, and it will be required of the purchaser that he shall enter into an obligation . . . for the maintenance and humane treatment of those slaves in every respect during life."²⁰

Welch and Nicholas Darnall did find a buyer, a man named Claudius Le Grand, who agreed to purchase the land for a little over \$13,000 (which is roughly what the property had been appraised for earlier that year). But trouble remained. As the U.S. Supreme Court reporter Richard Peters had it, "At the time the contract was made, the parties believed the title to the land to be unquestionable. Soon afterwards, however, doubts were suggested to [Nicholas]" that his title to the land might not be legitimate. The problem was that in order for a manumission to be valid, the slave in question not only had to be under the age of forty-five but he or she also had to be "able to work and gain a sufficient maintenance and livelihood at the time the freedom given shall commence." Nicholas was about nine years old²¹ at the time of his father's death, and it was suggested that he was unable "at that tender age" to work, and was "incapable therefore of receiving manumission by the laws of Maryland." A decision reached by the Maryland State Court of Appeals a couple of years earlier had held that a three-year-old slave who had been promised freedom in a testator's will could not be manumitted because he could not support himself.²² Even with his vast wealth, Nicholas faced the possibility of losing his entire inheritance under a close reading of the manumission statute. But Nicholas had four wealthy neighbors testify that he "was well grown, healthy and intelligent, and of good bodily and mental capacity." The four distinguished witnesses then detailed the kind of work that Nicholas and his brother would have been able to do. They "could have readily found employment, either as house servant boys, or on a farm, or as apprentices." In addition to their belief that Nicholas was capable of physical labor, the four witnesses also acknowledged that both he and his brother "were well educated and Nicholas is now living in affluence."

The stories of Bennett Darnall's children are worth telling, because there are so few explicit examples of elites in the Chesapeake publicly identifying their interracial offspring. More work needs to be done, but a couple of observations can be made at this point. First, it is interesting that a general uproar was not noted when Darnall originally wrote his will, which was witnessed by three different neighbors four years prior to his death. It was only after Darnall died, when the will was officially copied into the county court records, that the guardian of the two youngest sons declared that there was great excitement in the neighborhood concerning the news.²³ Second, the available evidence suggests that Darnall was not making a statement against the institution of slavery but wished to have his children, despite their problematic legal status, become landowners and slaveowners in an Upper South that was becoming increasingly more hostile to legally free people of African descent. A final observation is much more tentative but can be suggested. William, the oldest son who was an adult when his father died, and who was granted a small amount of land and a handful of slaves, apparently faced no comment from his white neighbors. The two younger

sons Henry and Nicholas, who came of age many years after their father's death, and who inherited the bulk of their father's sizable fortune, apparently faced local animosity and encountered some difficulty just selling their father's land.

NOTES

1. Anne Arundel County Wills, 1813–1823, Liber JG, vol. 38, no. 2, 42–43, Maryland State Archives, Annapolis, Md. [hereafter MSA].
2. Philip D. Morgan, "Interracial Sex in the Chesapeake and the British Atlantic World, c. 1700–1820," in Jane Ellen Lewis and Peter S. Onuf, eds., *Sally Hemings and Thomas Jefferson: History, Memory, and Civic Culture* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1999), 52–86. For another discussion of regional difference within the U.S. South concerning this issue, see Joel Williamson, *New People: Miscegenation and Mulattoes in the United States* (New York: Free Press, 1980), 43.
3. For another example, see Thomas E. Buckley, S.J., "Unfixing Race: Class, Power, and Identity in an Interracial Family," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 102 (1994): 349–80.
4. Heads of Families at the First Census Taken in the Year 1790, vol. 9: Maryland. (Washington, D.C., 1907), 10; 1800 Census, Anne Arundel County, 105. Eric Robert Papenfuse, "From Recompense to Revolution: Mahoney v. Ashton and the Transfiguration of Maryland Culture, 1791–1802," *Slavery and Abolition*, 15 (1994): 46.
5. Anne Arundel County Inventories, 1800–1816; for the initial assessment of Darnall's estate, see p. 95.
6. Effie Gwynn Bowie, *Across the Years in Prince George's County: A Biographical History of Some Prince George's County, Maryland and Allied Families* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1975), 238–39, 244–45; Jane Baldwin, comp. and ed., *The Maryland Calendar of Wills: Wills from 1703 to 1713* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1968), 3:196–97. For the various connections between the Darnall and the Carroll families in early Maryland, see Ronald Hoffman, *Princes of Ireland, Planters of Maryland: A Carroll Saga, 1500–1782* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000). For evidence suggesting Darnall's Roman Catholic background, see Beatriz Betancort Hardy, "A Papist in a Protestant Age: The Case of Richard Bennett, 1667–1749," *Journal of Southern History*, (1994): 216. Hardy states that "In April 1720 the [Maryland] Assembly subpoenaed thirteen of the leading Catholics . . . [including] Henry Darnall of Portland Manor."
7. For sources on Quarles, see John Blassingame, *The Slave Community: Plantation Life in the Antebellum South*, rev. ed. (New York: Oxford, 1979 [1972]), 155.
8. Diary of [?] Duvall 1811–1824, in Benjamin Watkins Collection 1811–1824 (MSA SC #210), MSA.
9. See Catherine Clinton, *The Plantation Mistress: Woman's World in the Old South* (New York: Pantheon, 1982), 213–14; John D'Emilio and Estelle B. Freedman, *Intimate Matters: A History of Sexuality in America* (New York: Harper & Row, 1988), 103.
10. Gregory A. Stiverson and Phebe R. Jacobsen, *William Paca: A Biography* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1976), 66–69. For another example, see Margaret Law Callcott, ed., *Mistress of Riversdale: The Plantation Letters of Rosalie Stier Calvert, 1795–1821* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991).
11. According to Bertram Wyatt-Brown: "Rules of silence [regarding interracial relation-

ships] were not always so scrupulously observed. Deathbed contrition occasionally led to breaches of the taboo against personal, public confession." See Brown, *Southern Honor: Ethics and Behavior in the Old South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), 310.

12. For information on Kingsley, see Daniel L. Schafer, "Shades of Freedom: Anna Kingsley in Senegal, Florida, and Haiti," *Slavery and Abolition*, 17 (1996): 130–54; and Schafer, "Family Ties That Bind: Anglo-African Slave Traders in Africa and Florida, John Fraser and His Descendants," *Slavery and Abolition*, 20 (1999): 1–21.

13. *Maryland Gazette*, November 4 and 18, 1802, January 9, 1811.

14. Anne Arundel County Wills, 1813–1823, Liber JG, vol. 38, no. 2, 42–43, MSA.

15. Anne Arundel County Register of Wills (Petitions and Orders), 1814–1820, CR 63, 126–2, CM1282, pp. 393–94, MSA (microfilm).

16. Anne Arundel County Register of Wills (Petitions and Orders), 1814–1820, CR 63, 126–2, CM1282, pp. 29–30, MSA (microfilm).

17. Anne Arundel County Petitions and Orders, 1814–1820, p. 30.

18. *Maryland Gazette*, July 22, 1824.

19. This next section is based on the Maryland Chancery Court (Chancery Record) 129, pp. 308–23 [MdHR S 517–17843; 1-35-3-38], MSA. Part of this case is transcribed and printed in "Research Notes," *The [Maryland State] Archivists Bulldog*, vol. 4, no. 31; reprinted in *Maryland Genealogical Society Bulletin*, 31 (1990): 391–92.

20. *Maryland Gazette*, June 23, 1825.

21. Richard Peters, *Reports of Cases Argued and Adjudged in the Supreme Court of the United States, January Term, 1829* (Philadelphia, 1829), 11:668. At the Supreme Court case, Nicholas was considered "10 or 11" at the time of his father's death, while the manumission deed filed in 1810 mentioned that Nicholas was then five years old, which would have made him eight or nine in 1814.

22. See *Hamilton v. Cragg*, June 1823, in Helen Tunnick Catterall, ed., *Judicial Cases Concerning American Slavery and the Negro* (New York: Negro Universities Press, 1968), 4:71.

23. Joshua Rothman has recently argued that southern white males tended to eschew explicit public criticism of liaisons between male masters and female slaves, as long as the master remained discreet and did not acknowledge his affairs or his offspring. See Rothman, "James Callender and Social Knowledge of Interracial Sex in Antebellum Virginia," in Lewis and Onuf, eds., *Sally Hemings and Thomas Jefferson*, 87–113.

A Marylander at the Gold Rush

ROBERT W. SCHOEBERLEIN

Like many others in mid-nineteenth-century America, Marylanders caught “gold fever.” Those who learned of the 1849 Sutter’s Mill gold strike knew that striking a pick into the California soil with the hope of finding that precious yellow ore was a gamble. Even so, they risked shipwreck and endured hardship and privation for the chance to become wealthy.

The following letters, written by the as yet unidentified “John” to his friend “Jim”—James Sands (fl. 1810–80) of Annapolis—recount the daily life and exploits of a not-so-young man, possibly in his forties, drawn to the California gold fields in 1850. Passages in the correspondence point to John as a one-time resident of Annapolis. Now residing in the Dowsett Collection of the Sands Family Papers (MSA SC 2095) in the Maryland State Archives, the letters describe the series of odd jobs he took to make ends meet on arriving in San Francisco, the inflated prices of a boomtown, and the unwritten rules ascribed to by the “49ers.”

John appears to have been one of those lucky enough to strike it rich. Unfortunately, no information regarding his later life has been uncovered. Nevertheless, his exploits are illustrative of the spirit of adventure and fondness for risk that characterized the American spirit. That same spirit continues today.

San Francisco, Alt. Cal.
October 20th, 1850

Friend “Jim”

Cowper the poet once said, I believe, and very justly too, that—

“The man who *hails you “Jim” or “Jack”*
And shows by *thumps upon your back*,
How he esteems your merit;
Is such a friend that one had need,
Be very much his friend indeed,
To pardon or to bear it.”

Now I know full well that you will *pardon* me for addressing you by the familiar old name of “Jim”; as I consider that you are just such a friend as is alluded to in the lines above and as to the *thumps upon your back*, why, con-

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found you, I only wish *I was* at this moment near enough to inflict upon you a few, for you certainly must be a *friend indeed*, as is fully shown by your having first thought of, and then taken the trouble to write to *me* in this far-off land. But I must at once leave of this "*poetising*" or I know I shall not have room upon this or any single letter sheet to say one half of what I have to communicate. Your letter at present lies open before me and I see its date to be that of April 11th, 1850 — which according to the date of my present writing, brings it a little over six months ago. Now my excuse for not having answered you before is this — that I have been away from here to the "Mines" since the first of May last until day before yesterday — consequently, I got all my letters directed to me at San Francisco, in one "*grist*"; — which was no less than seven from my mother and one from yourself. Yes, "Jim" I have been to the "mines" and can now fairly assert that I have "seen the Elephant" & if you will bear with me a few, I will endeavor to give you some little "*inkling*" of what one has to encounter and go through, to obtain that very peculiar sort of "*dust*" which has been blowing into and blinding the eyes of so many thousands of the inhabitants of the States to their own interests as to induce them to leave quiet and blissful homes where they have had every thing their hearts ought to desire this side of Heaven itself.

In the first place, then, you commence by selecting from amongst your "*duds*" the proper kind and amount of clothing &c. to take with you; which, in my case, consisted in the following — for I can even now easily enumerate them, having been advised by the experienced ones to be troubled with as *little baggage* as possible. Two flannel shirts, two pr. pantaloons, two blankets, pick-axe, shovel, large tin pan, frying-pan, drinking cup, sheath knife to eat with, and I confess I did, contrary to all advice given me before starting, take one of Colt's six-shooting rifles, in case I should have any thing of an consultation with Mr. Grizzly Bear of whom I had heard some very ugly stories. These things, Jim, was what constituted pretty much *this "miners"* fixens for a six-months campaign some hundreds of miles in the interior of *this* country, *to dig for gold!*

Now no one who has seen for himself can deny there being plenty of gold here, but to *get it*, Jimmy, is the *very devil*; the privations, labor, exposure & expense is almost too much for any mortal to endure for any length of time together, and unless he makes a "good haul" at once, or has the constitution of a crow-bar itself, he soon feels his health caving in upon him and he has to quit all and fly to some inhabited city or town where he can obtain the needful animal and vegetable diet necessary to recruit his broken down carcass.

Oh! Jim, you cant imagine what a sickening feeling of disgust and low-spiritedness came over me when we had arrived at our journey's end going to the mines. There we were, far in the wilderness of California, with but little of this world's goods or comforts around us, to sojourn not knowing how long or with what prospects of success, *if any at all*. We selected for our camp-ground a

ing a little further up the canon we were attracted by a hole which had been partly dug — say a hole fifteen feet long, six feet wide and eight feet deep, and which looked “for all the world” as though some one had commenced it and had given it up — got tired of it or something of the sort — but that made no difference to us — dig we had to, and it might as well be in one place as another for all we knew. The proposition was at once made that we should go into it and dig it down which was soon agreed to by us all; so in we jumped and commenced throwing out the earth. You ought to understand, however, that in this canon the whole dirt has to be thrown out until you reach the rock below no matter how deep the said rock may be from the surface of the ground — sometimes it is more and sometimes less — in this hole it lay about twelve or fourteen feet deep and through the hardest kind of digging you can conceive of — just as if that same earth had never been disturbed since Adam was a boy, — and there, on the rock and in the crevices you find the “*oro*,” or gold as it is called, in plain english.

But to resume — the three of us labored industriously all day Monday & Tuesday, and on Wednesday, about noon, and when we had got about six inches from the rock, an individual in the garb of a miner walked up to the brink of our hole and seating himself on the bank, accosted us with “good morning gentlemen.” I looked up and “good morning, sir,” I replied. “How do you make it” said he to me. — “Don’t know yet, — have not got quite down” was my reply. “Well,” said he, and after a little hesitation brought out, “I paid just one hundred dollars out of my pocket to have this hole sunk the dimentions you found it dug, and fully intended working it down myself the first opportunity, but have been sick.” “The devil you did” said I “and why did you not leave some of your tools in your hole to protect it — nobody would ever thought of trespassing upon your rights had you done so.” Well, he did not exactly know *why* he did not leave some of his tools in it, but he thought every body knew it was his hole — that he had paid a hundred dollars for having it partly dug, &c.” “Well, sir, *we* knew nothing of the fact and I now consider it as your *misfortune* in being sick; and as there was nothing to indicate that you or whoever commenced the hole ever contemplated finishing it, I do not consider it was *our fault* that we got into it.” “However,” replied he, “I suppose you are willing to do whatever is right about it; now suppose you three work the hole out and give me *one half* of whatever it may yield.” “Not one cent,” said I, as soon as he named the proposition — “if I now stand over five thousand dollars and we work the hole out, every *red cent* of it shall be appropriated to ourselves.” “But,” I continued, “I suppose *you are also willing to do whatever is right in the matter*, and as we are yet at six inches from the rock none of us, of course, know how much the hole contains suppose you pay us day’s wages for the time we have worked in it and we will at once yield up your hole.” “How much will you charge me per day,” asked he. “Ten dollars pr day for

spot under an old pine tree, and after a day or two of idleness, or rather, after taking about that time to *rest ourselves*, the next thing we did was to “*prospect*”; that is, to shoulder our pick, pan, and shovel, leaving all else at our camp, and go to look for a place to dig, which you do by sinking a small hole anywhere your fancy may pitch upon as long as no other man is occupying the same ground, and washing the earth by the pan-full to see if it will yield — if it does pay, say twenty-five cents to the pan of earth so washed, then stake off the number of feet to each man in your coompany (which in most cases is fifteen feet pr. man) and the number of feet, so staked off, constitutes your “*claim*”. You can then go to work like the very devil and make all you can.

About our second day out “*prospecting*,” without pitching upon any particular place, we were induced from hear-say to visit what had been called, and no doubt was, one of the richest canions ever discovered in this whole country; and I must here say that I was truly *frightened* at what I had undertaken — *this digging for gold!* If that was the way it was to be done, I thought I should make but a poor show at such labor — *I* who never had devoted a day at a time in digging the soil. There they were, the “miners,” dirty and ragged, some of them “*up to their middles*” in mud and water bailing the water from their holes so as to enable them to work, others sitting by their cradles rocking backward & forth the dirt with one hand, and with the other ladleing the water over it to wash the earth — an operation to a new beginner about as puzzling as an old trick we boys used to practice at school — that of rubbing the head and patting the belly at the same time, but they soon get the hang of it and it becomes natural enough. We returned to our campt that night fuly convinced that “gold digging” was not exactly what it was cracked up to be — on the contrary it was just about a little of the hardest kind of labor a man can undertake — rail roading, canaling or ditching is no touch to it, Jim, believe me it is not. It really looked as though a tornado had passed down that canion, which is some two miles long. Trees were uprooted, the ground all torn up and tumbled and huge rocks so moved from their original places that it did not seem possible it could all have been done by the hand of man — yet such was the fact, and the last eighteen months had done it all.

Our first essay at heavy digging was in this same canion. We pitched upon a spot on which stood a very large high pine tree and we all agreed there might be *something* under it, so we commenced digging around and as we bared the roots cut them off with an axe until at last we capsized the old tree and then dug to the main or bottom rock, it being some eight or ten feet deep, and which took all three of us two days and a half to accomplish — when, lo! All we got for our united labor was *one dollar and six cents* — clear it was that that did not pay us. We finished that job, I well recollect, on Saturday evening. — Well, on Monday morning we went down again to see where else we should set in, and in wander-

each man of us" I replied. "Let's see, three of you on it Monday, Tuesday & Wednesday — three days, at thirty dollars pr day will make the hole cost me one hundred & ninety dollars in all. No, I can't risk it, you can go ahead boys and work it out for yourselves, and I hope you'll make your '*pile*' out of it," said he, and he bid us good morning and left.

Now, Jim, I knew full well that we were in the right; for the laws among miners says, that wherever there *is* tools in a hole, such a hole is not liable to be entered by any other than those owning the implements or by their consent. But where there is *no tools* any one has a right to enter it and go to work. Had he left even a pick-axe alone, why then, all he woul dhave had to do would have been to walk up and invite us out and had we then refused he could have gone off and collected enough of the other miners to have come up and *helped us out*. But as it was, had his company been stronger than ours and he had attempted to drive us away by force, why then we had the same appeal to all working in the canion, who would soon have given us our rights at all hazards. That's the kind of regulations they have at the mines. When disputes about the rights of parties arises the other miners are called upon to decide in the matter, and whatever decision they come to, the parties have to abide by it; and which is a most excellent way, for a man, I may say, *always* gets justice done him. They look upon the case just as it is and decide it accordingly — careful of setting no bad precedent, which they themselves may at any subsequent time feel the bad effect of, by any unjust decision. Well, we did work the hole out and got a little over two hundred & fifty dollars from it; — so you see, had he bought us out he would have saved the hundred which he first paid to have his hole commenced, the ninety dollars for our wages and have made a trifle over for himself, but as it was he lost his hundred dollars. Now I have mentioned the above little incident merely to show what a small circumstance afterwards turned out to be much to our advantage, for just as we were finishing in this hole, the owner of the very adjoining claim below came to us and stated that his partner had gone to the river diggings, which left him entirely alone, and that if we had no objections to his coming into our party we would all four of us join and keep right on with *his* claim, which was a pretty large one. We not one of us had any the least objections to that proposition, I can assure you, so we all joined and the next day commenced another hole just adjoining the one we had got into by accident, and which paid us better still, for we took from it upwards of seven hundred dollars. We kept on putting down one hole after another for some six or eight weeks, all of which, with the exception of one, paid us pretty generously for the time and labor we devoted to them. After working out this claim, we divided our number and went to work two together, "here, there and anywhere," but never making as much upon an average for our whole time as when we kept on working steadily ahead — sometimes we would lose a week "prospecting" about the country [&]

again take a day or two at hunting, &c. — but I used to attribute it [to] having our pockets so much better filled with the “rocks” than when we first arrived at the mines, that we got to feel more independent and consequently *cared less about working* — its human nature, *human nature*, Jimmy, and there’s no disputing it.

Now I must say for the mines, though it is the hardest kind of work, that to me it is the most delightful and *interesting* way of making money I have ever yet tried. You have no one to find the least fault with your work, nor the patronage of any community or individuals to solicit. All you have to do is to *dig, dig, dig*, and only keep on digging and I’ll be bound for it you’ll get better and more certain pay for your labor from the *pockets* of old mother earth, than you would be likely to meet with from any human source whatever. One glaring fault with a great majority of those who go to the mines is, in their becoming too easily discouraged at the amount of labor they have to perform, together with the hardships and privations they have to endure — consequently, say nine out of ten, soon become sick and disgusted with the life they are leading — cry out *enough*, go home or back to the city, and then swear they *could make nothing at mining*. But my humble opinion, based upon what I have seen during a six months tour to the mines, is, Jim, that almost every *industrious, persevering, & economical* man, who has his health and would make mining his sole business from year to year, can amass enough, I’ll venture to say, in five years, to render him independent in the states the balance of his days — with the *chance*, in the mean time of sumbling on some good spot where he may make his “*pile*” in a hurry — in which case no one can blame him for crying “*enough*” and putting for home immediately. *I’d do it myself*. Again the miner is by no means subjected to the laws of society as to *how* he shall dress, or whether his apparel be in fashion or not; and, indeed, is generally considered new and “green” at the business until he shows up a couple of good sized patches on the seat of his breeches, one upon each of his knees in front and presents altogether a bespattered and patched up appearance — such a *looking* man you may safely judge had his pockets pretty well lined with “rocks” — his whole exterior shows him to be a *working man*. I only wish you could have seen your humble servant just previous to leaving the mines and even upon my arrival in this place, for I had not had a razor on my face for six months and was literally in rags and covered with dust from “head to foot.” Upon presenting myself before an old acquaintance here with whom I had left in charge my trunk and clothing, he burst out laughing, and while shaking me by the hand, advised me by all means to go right off and have a full-length daguerreotype taken and . . . send it home. “Well, by George,” continued he, “I thought I looked bad enough when I returned from the mines, but if you are not the roughest looking customers (my companion was with me and he had left his clothing here too) I have seen lately you may kick me.” An-

other acquaintance and fellow-passenger round the Horn with me whom I met, and to whom I began a sort of apology for my used up appearance, as I had just got in from the mines. Said he "damn the rags," — "*did you make anything* while there." "Well," I replied, "I had not much cause to complain" — that many had done better and a great many much worse than myself.

But, Jim, this is really too bad — here am I on my ninth page; so but a very few more words and I have done. I don't think I shall mine it again unless I am not successful in a business in which I am now about to embark with another young man from Boston. He thinks of leaving here in the steamer of the 1st Nov. for Boston, to make arrangements for our enterprise — should he do so I will get him to take this letter with him and drop it into the New York Post Office. I do hope and trust, Jim, we may succeed for we both of us intend throwing all our energy and capital into the business. If a man makes money here at all he is apt to make it rapidly — and on the other hand if he does [not] make a *hit*, he at once goes to the bottom like a stone. There is [no] "half-and-half," "plod-along" way of doing business here — one has to crowd on all the steam he can raise, and either "*beat or burst*." You may judge a little when I tell you that a store equal to the one G. I. Grammer Jr. used to rent from you when I was last in old Annapolis would bring a rent of at least eight hundred dollars *per month* here. An acquaintance who came on in the same vessel with me rented a bare shed of a place with no floor and neither lathed or plastered nor any larger than the one you occupied opposite the market, in Annapolis, and had to pay two hundred dollars *per month* — besides paying for two months in advance. He only had a stock of little over three hundred dollars to put into it. So you see, Jim, there is but mighty little chance here for "*stump tails*." Should we not succeed, why, we will both have to potter right off to the mines again — and should we not get along at that why, I hardly know what we can do, unless we go and join the Mormons. Good bye, Jim — write to me again. I shall always be greatly pleased to hear from you. Say to mother that I have written to her by this same mail.

Remember me to all who may inquire after, your old friend, John

P.S. — Upon opening this letter just previous to sealing it for the mail, I occurred to me that I might as well add a short "P.S." if it was only to fill up this my tenth page and so send you no blank paper at all. Yes, Jim, I really wish you were out here with me, if only to see, as you say in yours, "this mighty wonder that has so suddenly sprung up in our land," and had you come out here with me and we had both entered into the very business which I recollect you named when I last saw you, that of "lightening" there is no doubt that we might both of us have now been in old Annapolis with as much money as we should want — but it is too late now to look back to what might have been done, and as you are

now an old married man my advice to you is that you had better be contented. So my brother Harry, I learn, is married. Well, it may be some of these days that some of his progeny may be anxiously waiting for their old bachelor uncle John to die that they may fall heir to his large fortune — who knows. But, Jim, it does seem rather queer for me to have a sister — the first I have ever had in my life. What is brother Clem Tuck about — is he still loitering his time away in Annapolis. — And Abm. Claude, he, too, has “gone by the board,” I hear. Remember me to Immanuel Grammer Jr. when you see him, as I suppose he is still living otherwise you would have mentioned it in your letter. The cholera has found its way here at last — yes, it is now both here and at Sacramento City, but what sort of sweep it will make amongst us remains to be seen. The people here seem to take it very cool and appear to be quite unconcerned about it. In fact nobody seems to *have time to think of it*. For my own part, I labor under no apprehension on my own account. “The Lord’s will be done”

Again, I now subscribe myself your friend John

San Francisco Alt. Cal.

December 31st 1850

Dear Friend Jim

Here I come again, according to promise in my last, but with the full determination at the commencement of this page, of not again soiling quite as many of the fair outspread sheets that now lay before me as I did in writing each of my two former letters. The fact is, whenever I once commence letter writing, and particularly to a friend, I as once commence *talking*, as it were, on paper; and then, you know, there is no telling where to stop. And is it much wonder, that after having been isolated for six months, away from the world, in the wild solitude of the mountains, that on my return I should be somewhat inclined to have a few *long talks*, particularly with some of my dear old friends at home. But for fear I shall again overreach both the time and space I have allowed myself for this letter, I will now begin where I left off in my last— at Valparaiso. During the few days spent there, we improved the time well as to good shore living. Eat — eat — sometimes I would eat four and five times a day, and yet my capacity for more was not satiated. In the mean time the vessel was also laying in a good stock of fresh provisions &c. for the balance of the voyage. On the day before leaving, we took the small boat and made a visit to the different American vessels then in port, bound for California, were politely received and entertained by the passengers, and altogether had quite a good time. On the 27th July we again made off on the old Brig “to sail o’er silent seas again.” On the evening of the day on which we left, I witnessed the most splendid sunset view imaginable. Even our Captain could but exclaim with delight — declaring it the most beautiful sight of the kind he recollected ever to have witnessed. Oh! — it was most

gorgeous—it seems to me I shall always recollect it. One night I was called up from my bed by our second mate (he knowing I was a great lover of the sublime and beautiful) to witness another splendid sight—a grand display of the Phosphorescence of the sea. Now I am aware that accounts of these luminous appearances in the water may be found in the narrative of almost every voyager; but this was indeed something extra, far surpassing in brilliancy and beauty the finest exhibition of fire-works I have ever seen. The motion of the rudder at our stern created splendid coruscations and marked our wake, like a road of fire, far behind us. Now, Jim, these may seem like small matters to mention in a letter to *you*, who have perhaps witnessed similar scenes of the same splendor and sublimity—but as I consider even this last mentioned sight by no means the least of those “works of the Lord and his wonders in the deep,” which are witnessed by those “that go down to the sea in ships and that do business in great waters,” I can but take pleasure in again and again recurring to the recollection of them.

On the 14th August we amused ourselves not a little catching the “Boneta” fish which were around our vessel in great numbers. We had some of them served up for dinner, but the fact is I could neither relish nor eat either fish or fowl caught at sea—they all, to my taste, seemed to have such a strong, disagreeable flavor; through perhaps they were not properly cooked. On the 15th one of the passengers having a lot of twine on board, we commenced, and in a few days finished knitting a fine seine, for the purpose of fishing should we have a chance after arriving here. On the 18th we again crossed the equator going north, but still saw nothing of Old Nep. The thought occurred to me then that he might have had such an increase in his *shaving* business since this great California rush, that perhaps his soap had run rather short and that he might be in waiting for some more profitable customers than we would have been to him. September 3d—This day we were 192 days from Baltimore, and not yet to our journey’s end. Our anxiety to get to San Francisco had by this time almost increased to impatience. Day by day as we drew nearer our destination, more or less talk was had amongst us as to what our probable course would be upon arriving. All would be entire strangers here and thrown into the place, with but little money, to scramble along the best they could. With this view, they appeared to have been brought to a serious and proper consideration of the magnitude of the expedition they had entered upon, and some, I thought, seemed to grow somewhat uneasy and rather tremble at the thought of their success or not in this far-off land.

At last, on the morning of the 25th September, after “banging” about a day or two to find the entrance to the harbor, the weather cleared off, and in we went; and by ten or eleven o’clock that day had dropped our anchor opposite this far-famed town of San Francisco. Some of our party immediately dressed themselves up “for shore.” I did not leave the vessel that day, thinking there

would be full *time enough* to see all that was to be seen; but contented myself with taking a good survey of the town and shipping from where we lay out in the stream, and in getting my things a little "straightened up," after a seven months voyage, which I never seemed to have a disposition to do while at sea. Indeed, so long were we making the passage, that I had almost come to the conclusion that there really was no such place as this much talked of town; but now that I could see for myself that so far there was some truth in what I had read so much about in the newspapers at home, I was well content to put off going on shore until some future time; for I felt quite sure, Jim, that here our trials and tribulations were to commence. Soon after the letting go of our "mud-hook," the first *trial* met with was made upon the stamina of some of our boys' pockets. Several small boats approached our vessel with the hail "any passengers who want to go ashore?" "Yes, what do you charge?" "*Five dollars* apiece" was the answer. Now I tell you, Jim, that term "five dollars" sounded *mighty queer*, in the ears of us green 'uns, as the charge for rowing a man one or two hundred yards to the shore; but that was the price, and the boatman stuck to his text in such an independent way that those who intended going thought it best to wait an hour or two and honor the Captain with their company in the ship's boat. On their return to the vessel at nightfall such a summing up of all they had seen, together with each of their first impressions of the place, was indeed amusing — so much so that I then fully determined in my mind to go the very next day and see for myself. Now I must say, that *my* first impressions were those of perfect disgust and abhorrence of the place. The bare idea that here was to be my home for some time to come, at any rate, was really sickening. Even the old Brig, which we had so often cursed for her tardy progress in bringing us here, then seemed like a real *home* indeed. We never in fact knew how much we loved the old craft until we were compelled to abandon her. I did not remain on shore longer than I could help, but went on board again by return boat in the afternoon. That was long enough for me for the first peep at California. Now the comforts and even some of the necessities of life were but few here at that time, at any rate, and not being able to enjoy what was to be had on account of the extraordinary high prices, had no doubt a great deal to do with our dislike for the place. But now, Jim comes a "*stumper*." I know I should fall far short in an attempt to give you a representation of the state of things existing here at the time of our arrival, which would convey an adequate impression of the scenes which here opened upon us. Such as they were we had never before conceived, and perhaps quite impossible to convey in description; so you must be content with a few items only. Every thing seemed to have been literally turned "topsy-turvy." Here was but comparatively a small town of scattering houses, with a large population to fill them, which population consisted pretty much of all males, such a thing as *petticoats* being very rarely met with in the streets. Doctors, Lawyers, Clerks and

Gentlemen acting as cart-drivers, teamsters, waiters in eating houses, &c., while mechanics were receiving better pay than Congressmen — particularly carpenters, who were striking for higher wages while receiving sixteen dollars per day, and as high as two ounces (thirty-two dollars) was frequently offered and paid them to work on Sunday. Dollars seemed more plenty and easier to obtain than the commonest market vegetable and other edibles. I have known as high as five dollars paid for a head of cabbage. Two dollars pr pound for potatoes — fifty cents apiece for onions — milk four and five dollars pr gallon — eggs four dollars per dozen — but these two last named articles I need not have mentioned, as at that time they were considered as downright luxuries. Break fifty and seventy-five cents a loaf, and the “cunningest” *little* loaves you ever did see, *they were* — beef seventy-five cents pr. pound — pork, one dollar pr pound — butter, — what have I written it, butter — well *call it so*. Now I’ve heard it said, and seen it written and *printed* too, *I have*, that “a rose by any other name would smell as sweet;” and I think I have just as much a right to say, that this aforementioned butter called by *some other name* would taste as sweet. But what has all this to do with the price, say you — but I’m going on to tell — one and a half and two dollars per pound.

Now I have named enough, and from the above little schedule of prices for the actual necessities of life, you cannot much wonder that the small amount of money I had when I arrived here, being about eighty dollars (for I left home with but one hundred in cash, and some of that I spent in Valparaiso) soon, very soon dwindled away, which it did, and even before I had yet got employment of any kind; besides, I was in the mean time taken with that intolerable disease, the Dysentery, so common to most all strangers who come to these parts. Then it was I was put to my “trumps,” Jim. Here was I, with no money, nothing to do and sick enough to have been in my bed. But I had to make a bold push and went and got a job (the first work I did) at carpenter work — *rough carpenterary* you may be sure. Well, I worked at that until the rain had fairly set in upon us, after which I got along the best way I could. I would go out one day and pick up a job of any kind of work and make enough for my expences for several days while I “lay to” indoors on account of the rainy weather and my disease. Then, when I would become “hard up” again, out I had to go rain or no rain and work for more, and so on. Let me here relate you a few instances of the *kind* of jobs I would sometimes “*run foul*” of. One morning, after breakfast, I left my lodging quarters dressed up in pretty genteel style for California, *then*; — that is, with fine silk hat, clean shirt, fine coat and pants and clean boots; not to look for anything to do but merely for a ramble, as it had ceased raining and did not look as if any more would fall that day. During my stroll I thought I would go down and take a look at a fine steamer which had but lately arrived here from new York. After I had seen through her and while standing on her lower deck, a

great blustering, "chuckle-headed" fellow, who stood near me and was chief mate of her, bawled out at the top of his voice, "where can I get three men to heave in this scow-load of coal laying 'long side." With hardly a second thought, there being such a good chance for a job of work without "*looking it up*," I pushed both hands into the side pockets of my pants, gave a step up to him and said "*here's one*". Now, Jim, if you only could have seen the "quizzical" look the fellow gave when I proposed myself, you wold have laughed. He quite deliberately surveyed me from my hat to my boots, when at that moment, up stepped a couple of Irishmen and raising their scull-caps in the most obsequious manner, one of them spoke out, "and here's *two more of us* sure." The mate then turned his eyes on them and said "turn to, all three of you." So I off coat and seized hold of the wheelbarrow the first thing, for I knew at once what was to be done, and thereby got the Irishmen in the scow to fill the baskets and reach them up on deck, when I had to empty them into the barrow and wheel it about twenty feet to the coal-bin and tilt it in. With this little advantage over Pat, that of having rather the easiest and most agreeable part to perform, we worked until twelve o'clock, when *old Bluster* came along with "go forward, *coal heavers* and get your dinners with the crew" — so we went and had a nice meal, for California, I can tell you; besides, this infernal hard work at "coal-heaving" had whetted my appetite considerably to partake of its Maccaroni soup, a nice piece of roast beef, good fresh bread and plum pudding, or rather the best "plum duff" I have ever eaten, was our bill of fare. Now I was very much afraid these two fellow-laborers of mine would work it round so as to possess themselves of my place at putting in the coal, and get *me* into the scow; so while they were smoking their pipes, after eating, I went and seated myself on my wheelbarrow and waited for the "turn to" bell to strike, and thereby did not give them the chance. When the coal in the scow got so near the bottom as to be in the wagter which had leaked in, you may think it was anything but an easy or pleasant job to reach a heavy half bushel basket, all dripping, nearly a foot higher than one's head. It was just so that afternoon when Pat says to me, "faith, and shan't I *relave* you, sure." "No, I thank you — I can get along very well here", said I, after which it was plain to see that they tried their best to work me down so that I could not take it away fast enough and thereby keep them waiting for empty baskets and so claim possession of my place. But it was "no go" — the faster they handed it up, the faster I wheeled it off, and finally, when they found it was no use trying that game any longer, as they were getting tired of it themselves, one of them said to me, "faith man, and what makes you work so hard — I would not do it at all, sure;" so I fully agreed with him you may be sure that we had better *take it easy*. Well, we got the coal in by night and paid off at the tune of about a dollar an hour for our labor; but the next morning, if any poor bones were not stiff and sore according, I would not say so. Indeed, it took me three or four days to fully recover from that one day's

hard labor at "coal heaving"; and I determined in my mind then, that that should be the last time I would try that particular branch of industry. The next occasion I had to go to work I concluded to take up with something easier, and rather better suited to the then weak state of my physical strength; (the same disease still hanging to me) so I next undertook to perform the part of painter, (not *printer* — the printing offices were all full and I could not "*ring in*" at that business) and arming myself with a bucket of paint and a brush, I had soon engaged to paint a man's house just put up, at a dollar an hour; and when about finishing that job, a carpenter came to me and engaged my services to paint the front of a store which he had just finished for a man opposite. I took that also at the same price. While I was engaged on this latter job, the owner of the store and the carpenter got into a quarrel about his (the carpenter's) work, and some pretty hard words passed between them. When the carpenter had left, however, the store-keeper said to me, "I believe *you* to be an *honest painter* — but as to that carpenter, I think he is a *hell of a rascal*." Yes, Jim, I *was* an honest painter. There was I, taking all the pains I knew how to lay the paint on according to "Gunter," so that my work should not be found fault with — actually doing my best, and what *more* could any painter do.

Now the rain so interfering with this "*daubing*" occupation of mine I next obtained a situation in a Crockeryware and General Grocery Store — an indoor situation and a pleasant business enough, but I was not receiving California wages — indeed not much more than would pay for my board and lodging. Upon being treated rather roughly one day by my employer, I left there and was then thrown again out of employment. The rain coming down in such continuous torrents it seemed almost entirely to put a stop to all chance of getting into any business at all. The next thing I did get into, however, was the serving of a newspaper to my own subscribers. I bought out the right of one half the city, purchased my papers at the office and carried them round regularly every morning, making by the operation just one hundred per cent and which paid me about sixteen dollars *pr. Day*, besides not being engaged but a few hours each morning — generally getting through with my day's work by breakfast time. This was first rate. I had nearly the whole time to myself, with good pay, and at which I continued to employ myself with until about the first of May, some three or four months, when I made up my mind to quit this occupation also, and go to the "mines" — an account of which I have written you in my other letters. So, Jim, I have now taken you hastily through with the principal parts of my adventures, since I left home. A few more words and I have done; as I do not intend letting what I may still have to say overrun this my eighth page. Could you but be here now, and look back on San Francisco as it was just one year ago, you would scarce believe the evidence of your own sense. Notwithstanding three or four destructive fires which have occurred right in the heart of the city, each

time has the burned district been replaced with more beautiful and substantial buildings than before; and the condition of the streets, which twelve months since were scarcely navigable, to the pedestrians, without getting over the tops of his boots in mud, are now all nicely graded and planked, making a complete floor for both man and beast; and I do think, that should she go on increasing and improving as rapidly as she has done for the last twelve or fifteen months, will, in five years time, be the most beautiful, fashionable and gayest place in the world. You see we are peopled here by a representation from almost all parts of the globe, besides our own. Such are the aspirations of the human heart after riches, that the gold discovery has drawn together here the old and the young, the high and the low, the learned and the ignorant, the prosperous and the wretched, and as individuals of each different nation generally introduces some peculiar business or calling unknown to the other, I think I may now safely say, that one may here get almost any luxury or comfort to be found anywhere under the sun, *for money*. If you only have the rocks in your pockets, you need now want for nothing. But ere I close, for I see that the space I have left is fast drawing to a focus, let me thank you, Jim, for the benediction contained in the concluding paragraph of your letter, which I believe I have omitted doing in either of my two other writings. I truly appreciate the kind and christian spirit with which you warn me to shun the allurements of this wicked place and to keep God's commandments, so that when I am called hence, I may reap a rich reward in heaven. Ever your friend John

Book Reviews

Medicine in Maryland: The Practice and the Profession, 1799–1999. By Jane Eliot Sewell. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999. 238 pages. Notes, index. \$39.95 cloth.)

Published to coincide with the 200th anniversary of the Medical and Chirurgical Faculty of Maryland, Jane Eliot Sewell's *Medicine in Maryland: The Practice and Profession, 1799–1999* provides a sound introduction to the history of medicine in Maryland. Sewell captures the informal and unspecialized nature of medicine in the late eighteenth century, documents the developing professionalization of doctors and institutionalization of medical education in the nineteenth century, and traces the evolution of public health and associated social dimensions of local health care and the development of some of the leading medical innovations since World War II.

Sewell emphasizes diversity as the defining feature of health care in Maryland. Medical care in the state was shaped by competition, decentralization, and diversity among medical institutions as well as the complexity of government regulations and programs guiding public health policy. For example, in 1910, Abraham Flexner prepared a report for the Carnegie Foundation comparing the facilities and programs of medical schools across the United States and Canada. Flexner's report highlighted the flaws in the state's medical schools, including lowered standards of education, inadequate teaching facilities, and neglected buildings. Impressed by his inspection of the Johns Hopkins School of Medicine, Flexner promoted the school as a "model" institution and the standard for medical education. In contrast, he concluded that all other medical schools in the state, including the University of Maryland School of Medicine, should be closed and their medical facilities be turned over to Hopkins. Although Flexner's praise of Hopkins was well deserved, his report smacked of elitism and monopoly. In the wake of Flexner's report, several of the state's medical colleges either closed or later merged with the University of Maryland, and that institution was prompted to incorporate significant changes in curriculum, admissions policies, and general management to keep the school growing. Sewell argues that competition and diversity among the remaining institutions not only contributed to innovations in Maryland medical care, but to the continued growth and development of the competing schools as well. "The diversity that seemed problematic to the medical elite proved favorable to the majority of the residents of this state over the long run. Marylanders, it would seem, have done a tolerably good job of balancing their desire for expertise and efficiency in medicine with their interest in preserving a democratic tradition and a diverse, innovative society" (177).

Although the book's title implies a statewide history, Sewell's narrative focuses too narrowly on the development of hospitals and medical colleges in Baltimore. Only brief mention is given to the unique problems faced by physicians with rural practices or the establishment of medical institutions outside the immediate Baltimore area. Granted, the history of medicine in Maryland does necessitate an extensive discussion of venerable institutions such as the Johns Hopkins Hospital or the University of Maryland School of Medicine, but one wishes that the author had been able to show how the quality of medical care expanded and improved across the state from the nucleus of institutions based in Baltimore to hospitals and private practices in Western Maryland, the Eastern Shore, and other regions of the state.

Sewell's book provides a valuable synthesis of the traditional, but often hard to find, sources relating to the history of medicine in Maryland. However, Sewell goes far beyond the scope of the standard sources, incorporating reports of medical institutions, newspapers, diaries, firsthand accounts of medical treatments from the point of view of the patient, as well as a wealth of related secondary journal articles published in the last half of the twentieth century. Sewell's skillful distillation of a wide range of sources makes this volume a valuable contribution to the historiography of the topic.

NANCY BRAMUCCI
Maryland State Archives

Terror on the Chesapeake: The War of 1812 on the Bay. By Christopher T. George. (Shippensburg, Pa.: White Mane Books, 2001. 213 pages. Illustrations, maps, appendices, index. \$39.95 cloth.)

In *Terror on the Chesapeake*, Christopher George provides a detailed and lively account, based on solid research into the sources for both opponents of the War of 1812 as it unfolded in the Chesapeake Bay area, beginning with the first appearance of the Royal Navy in March 1813 and ending with the British repulse before Baltimore in September 1814. George's description of the numerous skirmishes, raids, and landings that occurred during these eighteen months are succinct but interesting, and it is clear that he has visited the scenes of these actions and "walked the ground." He has also mastered the technical *minutiae* necessary to reconstruct early nineteenth-century military actions but has not fallen into the trap of getting lost in detail and wisely places some of the more peripheral subject matter in separate appendices (including speculation on the numerous British claims that Americans attempted to poison them—claims the reviewer believes had more to do with quality of the local rye whisky than with any deliberate malice). *Terror on the Chesapeake* is good narrative history and one of its more attractive aspects is that George includes much personal information about the major characters who

fought in the Chesapeake area, bringing them alive and sustaining the reader's interest. His engaging text is all the more attractive because it is backed up by numerous maps and illustrations.

This book has one fault and it is the failure to provide a broader political, diplomatic, and strategic context. Operations in the Chesapeake area are not linked to the wider war and, thus, although George quotes Vice Admiral Alexander Cochrane's famous order of May 1814 to Cockburn "to act with the utmost hostility against the shores of the United States," he does not explain that this order originated as a direct result of depredations carried out by American forces against the Canadian shore of Lake Erie that same month. In a similar fashion, while the author notes that, given the abdication of responsibility on the part of the federal government (the successful defence of the Chesapeake in 1814 was due largely to the efforts of individual state governors) he does not pursue this topic at length although it has a major bearing on his subject. This broader background of the war in the Chesapeake was covered in detail by Joseph Whitehorne in his mistitled 1997 book, *The Battle for Baltimore*, a book that can be read with much profit in conjunction with *Terror on the Chesapeake*.

Despite this weakness, Christopher George has produced a readable history of a fascinating period in North American history that will appeal both to specialists and general readers alike, and his efforts are all the more commendable because *Terror on the Chesapeake* is his first book on the topic.

At this point, it might not be amiss for the reviewer (a Canadian) to provide some additional information on one subject that George raises in his text—the fate of the two Independent Companies of Foreigners (sometimes referred to as the "Canadian Chasseurs" although they were not Canadian) who ran riot at Hampton, Virginia, in June 1813. Recruited from French prisoners of war who had been brutalized by their experiences in Spain, the Foreigners were arguably the worst troops to ever serve in the British army. British records reveal that although Warren and Beckwith, the 1813 naval and military commanders in the Chesapeake, put on a brave public face about the Hampton incident, they were privately mortified by the Frenchmen's conduct. The two companies were sent back to Halifax with a view to returning them to England but, when they arrived at that place, the military commander requested they be retained on board the warships as it made them easier to control. The naval commander responded that the Foreigners were the army's problem and sent them ashore where, true to form, they broke out of their barracks one night and burned down part of the city. At this point the companies were broken up and sent back in small groups to the prison hulks from whence they had come.

DONALD E. GRAVES
Ottawa, Canada

The Tyranny of Printers: Newspaper Politics in the Early American Republic. By Jeffrey L. Pasley. (Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 2001. 535 pages. Statistical Appendix, notes, index. \$37.50 cloth.)

Jeffrey Pasley's *Tyranny of Printers* works well as both newspaper history and political history. The main theme of the book is "the existence and great significance of newspaper-based party politics in the history of the United States" (22). This thought will not be new to scholars of either the journalism or political histories of the period, but Pasley takes the idea much farther than the current literature in either field. Pasley refers to the "Republican" party (with an uppercase R) as the party of Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe, even for the late eighteenth century, before any formal political parties were organized and the classical republican ideal of the time was antithetical to political parties. Indeed, his primary thesis is that the Republican political editors in the 1790s (meaning partisan editors opposed to Hamilton and Adams, and even Washington) became the country's first professional politicians and that the loose newspaper network that operated through the exchanges became the first political party organization in the country.

The book is well researched and well written. Pasley takes readers through the turbulent politics of the late Federalist period, the supposedly consensus politics of the "era of good feelings," and into the beginning of the Jacksonian era. He describes and documents how Republican newspaper editors, initially radicalized by the Sedition Act and then by a growing elitism among Republican politicians, fought back—and in doing so thrust themselves and their newspapers into the political center. The difficult first years of the Republican press are described through the stories of Phillip Freneau and his *National Gazette*; Benjamin Franklin Bache (Ben Franklin's grandson) who, with his *General Advertiser*, took the Republican mantle after the death of Freneau; and then his successor, William Duane, with the Philadelphia *Aurora*. On the way we also follow the fight against the Sedition Act and the campaigns of the 1800 elections in repressive and Federalist New England, where the difficulties of the fledgling Republican press are illustrated through the careers of Charles Holt and his New London, Connecticut, *Bee*, among others. Pasley does not leave out the contribution of newspapers in Maryland, both on the Republican side, the *Baltimore American*, and the Federalist side, the extremist *Baltimore Federal Republican*. After the Republican ascendancy in 1801, the editors' fight against what they thought of as a growing Republican elitism is illustrated again in the difficulties of New England editors and newspapers, and in the battles of William Duane in Philadelphia. Within a few years of the turn of the century, political editors had become powerful enough in guiding the political agenda and making and breaking politicians that the elite of both parties complained of the "tyranny of printers."

Pasley makes good use of multiple methodologies. His primary tools, as in

much of journalism history, are the biographies of key editors and the stories of their newspapers. These are used to illustrate his more general points that are presented in analytical chapters, such as "The Republican Newspaper Network." He also uses a series of maps showing the geographic development of the political newspapers of both parties. The maps are based on his quantitative research shown in two appendices. All of this is then supported by a web site, where he presents more quantitative and biographical detail. In its methodology and presentation, the book is a *tour de force*.

In spite of its use of modern technology, there is a sense in which *The Tyranny of Printers* is old-fashioned, both as political and newspaper history. There is a Whiggish style to the book which seems to tell the reader: this is the way our wonderful current system of press and political freedoms were won. It is very much a story of the good guys (the Republican editors) against the bad guys (the Federalist politicians, editors and judges), and through great trials and tribulations the good guys carried the day. The capsule biographies of Franklin Bache and William Duane are almost hero worship, reflecting too much the style of newspaper history before James Carey's 1974 analysis of the "Problems of Journalism History" (*Journalism History*, 1:3, 5–27) and consensus history. The shadow of Arthur Schlesinger Jr. seems to surface from between the lines when Pasley writes: "No modern Democrat has ever attended a William Duane Day dinner, but they probably should have. The *Aurora* editor was at least as much a founder of the party as any president" (195).

In spite of any Whiggish feeling to the book, the *Tyranny of History* is an excellent book that should become a standard reference for both journalism and political historians of the Federalist and Republican eras.

RICHARD STILLSON
The Johns Hopkins University

Inheriting the Revolution: The First Generation of Americans. By Joyce Appleby. (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of the Harvard University Press, 2000. 334 pages. Notes, bibliography, index. \$26 cloth.)

Joyce Appleby's newest book, *Inheriting the Revolution*, skillfully relates how a spirit of enterprise and youthful exuberance allowed the "first generation of Americans" to transform the abstract ideals of the Revolution into a liberal society valuing the virtues of hard work and enterprise. Drawing upon over two hundred published autobiographies and countless other primary and secondary sources, Appleby paints a group portrait of those born in between 1776 and 1800, whom she regards as an energetic, ambitious, politically and economically active people.

Appleby charts the rise of the "first" generation coincident with Jefferson's rise to power. She states that "Jefferson and his supporters democratized American

politics,” and that they did so “by addressing the anxieties that ordinary white men felt about the patronizing, elitist assumptions of the Federalists” (27). Jefferson sought to decrease the role of government, extend suffrage to more males, and to encourage an entrepreneurial spirit. Increased pamphleteering reflected a politic that had become open for public discussion. Men now realized that their government allowed them to speak of their new social order as “universal and natural” (55).

It was a time of economic innovation. Technology and government offered Americans the means to change not only the nature of their economy, but of their country. Investors and entrepreneurs were more willing to take risks and start new ventures. Michel Chevalier, a French observer writing in 1830s, stated that if “movement and the quick succession of sensations and ideas constitute life, here one lives a hundred fold more than elsewhere; here, all is circulation, motion, and boiling agitation” (7).

The nature of the family and work changed, as evidenced by reform movements, new careers, and the rise of evangelicalism. Population growth led to the proliferation of new towns, offering new opportunities. Appleby states: “Following the careers of those in the first generation is to watch the sprawling American middle class materialize. . . . America’s liberal society found its architects and champions, their careers giving substance to the hope that free choice, free trade, and free speech could flourish within a self-regulating social order” (91–92). Here the author’s summary sounds a bit too ideal. One can almost imagine Adam Smith’s invisible hand guiding this “self-regulating” social order toward its providential potential. Yet much of the population remained in rural settings. Appleby herself notes: “The number of people living in villages with more than one thousand people only increased from 10 to 16 percent between 1790 and 1830” (141). Ultimately, this new social order seems to encompass far fewer Americans than the author suggests.

The growth in literacy and proliferation of newspapers, pamphlets, and books came in response to a generation’s questioning of the very nature of their emotions and relationships. Appleby states: “Like so many other aspects of life for them, the freedom from earlier restraints on the expression of emotion opened up the possibility of crafting new cultural forms” (163). Here she describes the popularity of reading and writing memoirs. Many wrote of their evangelical experiences; men wrote introspective, richly emotional accounts of their marriages, new business opportunities, and encounters with death. Appleby states: “Changing circumstances reconfigured the emotional patterns within many families. . . . Americans developed a language for talking about their inner lives just as they had found the words to describe their love for others” (192).

Along with these changes, the relationship between parents and their children was transformed. Opportunities to leave family farms in order to pursue new career opportunities led sons “to thwart the plans of their parents and follow their

heart" (173). This resulted in a breakdown of the authoritarian nature of father-son relationships. Women, too, broke out of prescribed roles. They became active in movements such as temperance and prohibition; their investment in literacy and education led women to take up positions as teachers. Industry offered new opportunities for women, too. The Lowell Associates, for example, established factories featuring "communities of dormitory living, strict discipline, and female conviviality" (76).

Voluntary associations such as Masonic lodges also drew people together. Religious communion—the Second Great Awakening—sought to empower the common American by promoting ideals of liberty and limited government that would ultimately come at the expense of the Jeffersonian spirit of free inquiry. The Second Great Awakening also fed a spirit of abolition in the North. Appleby states that the greatest accomplishment of the reform movement in the early nineteenth century was temperance. Sobriety became the greatest of social virtues.

Appleby dedicates much of her book to the emergence of the rift between North and South. Noting that the South was forced to provide a moral defense in light of increased northern criticism, she states that "Southerners turned increasingly to an idealization of kith and kin, honor and gracious living" (155), while the North espoused ideals of free will, enterprise, and innovation. At times, Appleby's language raises questions. She exaggerates the move of white Americans from the South to states where slavery was prohibited, while overstating how "odious" northerners, on the whole, found the institution of slavery (223). The degree to which northern businessmen relied upon the agricultural production of the South sheds further doubt on the good-natured intentions of northerners. One might argue that what caused the idealization of enterprise and individualism was the drive for profit, and that a rhetoric of virtue and liberty developed in defense of the ideal. Appleby refuses to take on the insidious nature of ideology with the same zeal with which she embraces "the self-conscious shapers of American values [who] spoke for meritocracy in which merit was defined by ordinary talent, effort, and risk taking" (259).

Inheriting the Revolution offers the reader a colorful description of the lives of the first generation of Americans, though without many surprises. Appleby delves into the world of those who, using the language of the Revolution, laid the commercial and liberal foundation of America. She focuses on a range of individual styles and living conditions, from women to slaves, from presidents to northern businessmen, and provides a rich characterization of the period. While perhaps more cumbersome than revealing at times, *Inheriting the Revolution* is also ideal for those who search for clarity on the issue of the economic and ideological differences that separated the antebellum North and South.

WILL CRAFTON
University of Oklahoma, Tulsa

Jefferson and the Indians: The Tragic Fate of the First Americans. By Anthony F. C. Wallace. (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of the Harvard University Press, 1999. 416 pages. Illustrations, maps, notes, documents, index. \$29.95 cloth.)

In the wake of several recent historical studies of Thomas Jefferson and his relationship with Sally Hemmings, it is refreshing to witness the creation of a new work that goes much further into the cultural and intellectual history of a man who was more than just the father of illegitimate children, the author of the Declaration of Independence, and the man who doubled the size of the United States with a famous land deal.

Just as he did with his previous works: *The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca* (1972) and *The Long, Bitter Trail: Andrew Jackson and the Indians* (1993), Anthony Wallace returns to the fold and delves deeply into the world of early America to dissect the inner workings of his principle subject. Thomas Jefferson, like many of his compatriots, is just as enigmatic today as he was in his day. Much of the written history on Jefferson made him a cultural icon—a hero placed on the highest platform as someone to emulate, admire, and from whom we learn.

Through rigorous examination and thoughtful interpretation, Wallace examines how the mysterious Jefferson had a fascination with Native American culture, language, and traditions, that traveled alongside his passionate desire to alter their landscape with a blanket of new American settlers. Wallace pores over Jefferson's absorption with Indians, as well as his stewardship and manipulation of their destiny. The author guides the reader on a journey through Jefferson's life—from his earliest dealings with Native Americans as a youth, where he was hell-bent on acquiring native lands—through his presidency (1801–9), when he mastered the political rhetoric and worked with other patriots toward fashioning a new nation after the Revolution. The author also examines Jefferson's middle years, when he pushed for countless studies of Indian language, culture, and ancient origins, and finally, into his autumn years at Monticello, when he reflected on his life's work and believed he'd done the right thing. To his credit, Wallace does not gloss over or hide his opinions about Jefferson and his dealings with the Native Americans. He illustrates and reinforces Jefferson's controlling personality and his "political approach" to land speculation, as he attempted to straddle both sides of the fence.

On one hand, Jefferson wanted to amend the Constitution to help ensure the "cultivation of commerce, peace and good understanding with the Indians" (255). On other hand, he wanted this to occur so the United States could broker land cessions and exchanges so the encroaching whites could have the lands they passionately craved. Wallace makes no apologies for showing how Jefferson believed that, ultimately, there was no room in the United States for Indians as Indians; they had to be civilized and assimilated—an adaptation that would ensure their

survival. Up until his death, Jefferson “retained his vision of the tragic fate of the First Americans, as a scattered remnant retreating westward, leaving behind the graves of their ancestors and the monumental remains of their former civilizations—and vacant lands” (334). Had Jefferson’s vision been a little more farsighted, perhaps the current reservation system would not exist.

While the author is a bit critical of the president, his treatment of the subject is thorough, clearly written, fair, and loaded with a tremendous amount of information. Wallace demonstrates how Jefferson commanded Lewis and Clark to “treat them [the Indians] in the most friendly and conciliatory manner” (244). He even suggested that they should instruct the natives in the use of “kine-pox,” which would help prevent the Indians from contracting smallpox, especially when their Corps of Discovery was going to spend an extended amount of time in the area. These revelations are priceless to a historical record that had previously been missing such humanitarian efforts. Many texts only mention settlers and soldiers acting irresponsibly with smallpox-infected blankets or clothing to purposely decimate the local Indian population.

This is not the first work to discuss Jefferson and his relationship with and attitude towards Native Americans. However, with Wallace’s lively narrative and attention to detail, it is perhaps, the best. The text is not merely a survey of Indian cultures and land cessions geared toward facilitating the peaceful encroachment of whites into the middle continent; it is a study of Jefferson’s troubled legacy as a statesman who, by trying to establish a workable Indian policy during a time of great expectation and rapid expansion, helped, as Wallace states, deliver the Native Americans to their fate as “noble, but ultimately doomed savages” (ix).

Through a conscientious discussion of Jefferson’s motivation, action, and reflection towards his Indian policy, Wallace effectively weaves an elegant tapestry that does not place the blame for the Native American legacy squarely on Jefferson’s shoulders but explains why he was so instrumental in bringing it about. He states that “Jefferson was not alone in formulating this policy, but he made it central to the federal system and, by mourning the passing of the Indians into oblivion or civilized invisibility, gave moral justification to the seizure of lands he said they no longer needed” (337).

Wallace’s final paragraph brilliantly puts everything into perspective. He describes how James Madison, with Jefferson’s support, had crafted the *Federalist Papers*, that:

. . . recommended a constitution that provided for institutions capable of combining the varied economic and political interests of the several states into a federal union. Would that Jefferson and Madison had also applied their considerable intellectual powers to the writing of a second set of *Federalist Papers*, one that devised institu-

tions capable of weaving together the strands of ethnic diversity in the republic, instead of pulling them apart (338).

Imagine how different our nation might look today if they had.

GRANT O. MARTIN
Milford Mill Academy

Well-Tempered Women: Nineteenth-Century Temperance Rhetoric. By Carol Mattingly. (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1998. 228 pages. Notes, bibliography, index. \$34.95 cloth; \$19.95 paper.)

Scholars of nineteenth-century reform have frequently argued that temperance advocates, who called for women's rights to protect their homes, were more effective in bringing about these rights than were reformers who insisted that it was unjust to deprive women of them. Mattingly contributes to our understanding of this process by analyzing how temperance women addressed gender and rights in their rhetoric. She looks at the how early temperance reformers justified the movement to one another, analyzes speeches of Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) leaders, discusses racial conflict within the movement, explores press coverage of temperance women's public speaking, and considers how women who advocated temperance embedded their messages in popular fiction.

One of the successes of the book is in its blending of newspaper accounts, official publications of the WCTU, and temperance novels. While the book takes a national focus and does not discuss Maryland specifically, Mattingly has consulted a number of articles from Maryland newspapers and records of the Maryland WCTU.

Two chapters in *Well-Tempered Woman* stand out as particularly valuable contributions to the literature. The first discusses how WCTU leaders trained members to become public speakers by publishing countless pamphlets giving practical guidelines about speechwriting and leading meetings, and by explaining how public speaking was consistent with womanliness. Not only does this chapter reveal temperance women's own ideas about rhetoric and gender, it exposes the technical workings of the most efficient reform movements of the century.

A second highlight is Mattingly's treatment of woman-authored temperance fiction. Drawing from a well-chosen selection of mid-century novels, she amasses examples of radical statements on an array of women's issues, including the dearth of economic opportunities for women needing to support their own families, women's right to limit reproduction by refusing sex, and the right to divorce. Though occasionally she may be reading twentieth-century feminism into these texts, on the whole her often surprising examples well support her argument about temperance's effectiveness as a vehicle for women's rights.

There are two ways in which Mattingly might have strengthened her book.

First, she might have enriched her contextualization by engaging in a more sustained way with secondary literature. Most notable is the absence of Richard Leeman's book, *Do Everything Reform: The Reform Oratory of Frances E. Willard* (Greenwood 1992). I also would be interested to see Mattingly, in her lengthy discussion of the Frances Willard/Ida B. Wells debate, respond to Gail Bederman's suggestive treatment of the same (Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization* [University of Chicago Press, 1996], 65–67).

My second issue is really a question of interpretation. While I agree that the temperance movement did more than the women's rights movement to bring about women's rights, I question a corollary that often accompanies it: that temperance reformers saw temperance as a means to the end of broader rights. Mattingly's temperance reformers "thinly veiled" their "promotion of equal rights" (16). They "carefully placed" their rights arguments "within the context of care and concern for the helpless" (34). They "provided a temperance title and frame to their works as they explored other women's issues" (124). Some temperance reformers did appreciate that they could use temperance rhetoric to call for broader rights, and Bederman gives some excellent quotations to that effect. But her treatment implies too much manipulation and undervalues their very real commitment to the cause of temperance. The difference between a woman who "cloaks" her suffrage argument in the language of temperance and one who is, perhaps reluctantly, convinced to call for suffrage because she believes that it will advance the temperance agenda is significant. That many more women belonged to the latter than the former category is strongly suggested by the very fact that the temperance argument worked so much better than the rights argument. Unless the leadership of the movement thought very differently than the masses, it is a mistake to reduce the temperance message to a rhetorical Trojan horse.

Notwithstanding these reservations, Mattingly's book will be a useful text, not only for specialists in nineteenth-century reform but also for undergraduates studying the histories of women, reform, and rhetoric. It does a good job balancing between specific individuals and anecdotes on the one hand and larger arguments and ideas on the other. Last but not least, it is, as one might expect of a book written by a scholar of rhetoric, a real pleasure to read.

ELAINE FRANTZ PARSONS
University of Wisconsin, Oshkosh

Hallelujah Lads and Lassies: Remaking the Salvation Army in America, 1880–1930. By Lillian Taiz. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001. 272 pages. Index, illustrations, bibliography. \$39.95 cloth, \$16.95 paper.)

For many of us, the Salvation Army is such a ubiquitous experience—timeless thrift shops on street corners and Christmas-time bell-ringing in shopping malls—

that we seldom pause to consider what it is. Even its name and image are perplexing. What exactly does an army have to do with salvation and why are all those bell-ringers dressed to do battle?

Fortunately for academic scholarship, Lillian Taiz *did* pause to consider such matters. Her curiosity has produced a long-overdue and highly readable study of one of the country's most significant, yet often overlooked, religious and cultural phenomena.

Taiz, an associate professor of history at California State University in Los Angeles, examines the demographics and personal experiences of the multitudes of "soldiers," young, predominantly native-born working Americans who accounted for the growth and popularity of the Salvation Army. She traces the Army's evolution from a marginalized, yet flamboyant Christian evangelical movement that took hold in the United States in the 1880s to its turn-of-the-twentieth-century, more decorous, mainstream image as a social service organization. Along the way, she reveals a cast of colorful—and often ambitious—leaders and followers and throws a good bit of light on working-class religiosity, changing perceptions of poverty and organizational ways to address it, and the continuum of evangelical Christianity in the United States.

Unlike the few published institutional histories of the Salvation Army, Taiz approaches her study primarily from the perspective of the young "lads and lasses" of the title, drawing on letters, diaries, "soldiers roll books," official published reports such as the organization's *War Cry* newsletter, and demographic data relating to ethnicity, gender and occupation. Most importantly, she relies on many insightful "conversion narratives," the personal testimonies of members that convey in their own words the significance of their affiliation with the Army. She readily admits to the "dearth of materials on the rank and file" and somewhat restricted access to data at the Army's national headquarters in Alexandria, Virginia (3). Yet she balances the study with other more readily available resources and rich contextual history, particularly labor history and data, to provide insight into the personal experiences of those who eagerly embraced this unique and showy religious movement.

Like so much of the religious fervor of the nineteenth century, the Salvation Army "emerged in an era of heightened concern about the religious life of the urban working class" (12). As well-heeled Protestant congregations began moving to newly created, upscale suburbs, decaying city centers were left in their wake, bereft of spiritual guidance for disenfranchised poor and working-class men and women—the "heathen masses," to quote a Salvationist, flooding into the late nineteenth-century urban industrial workplace (13).

Taiz tracks her topic chronologically from the Army's roots in Great Britain to its entrenchment in American culture in the 1930s. Founders William and Catherine Booth both cut their teeth on evangelical itinerant preaching in the mid-nineteenth century, fine-tuning a unique style of revivalist proselytizing with

urban missionary work. Taking the genre to new heights, they capitalized on the emerging trend of military imagery in Great Britain, successfully combining religious zealotry with martial symbolism. It immediately took hold in an era concerned with the debilitating "materialism of the city" and the fear that young men and women were "becoming 'soft'" (19). Populated with the full contingency of military bureaucracy, from generals to privates in full uniform regalia, the Army was, indeed, dressed to do urban battle—against the enemy forces of sin, poverty, and all-too-frequent temptations of the flesh.

Like the Irish and Italian immigrants who held close to the sumptuous pageantry of the neighborhood Catholic parishes that offered opulence and excitement so frequently missing from their own lives, Taiz argues that, similarly, young, white and African American Protestant working men and women flocked to the rollicking drama of the Salvation Army. Salvationist leaders created a bawdy religious hybrid of frontier camp-meeting revivals, gospel welfare, street theatre, and saloon camaraderie that was appealing to a diverse working-class audience looking for a cultural identity they could easily understand (5). Taiz writes that for Salvationists, physical manifestations of spiritual feeling were an integral part of worship, as they "rocked themselves backwards and forwards waving and clapping their hands and sometimes bowing forward and again lifting their heads, heavenward" (77).

Market-savvy telemarketers of the late twentieth century could learn a few lessons from their evangelical predecessors of the Salvation Army a century earlier. Taiz peers at her subject through the lens of capitalism and finds Army leaders and organizers who quickly recognized in the "overcrowded religious marketplace of the nineteenth century" an unexploited "market niche" of countless young men and women disenfranchised from mainstream Protestant religions that had "lost touch with disconnected groups" (58).

For this untethered demographic group, the Army provided a menu of life experiences: religious epiphanies, social and cultural identity, and structure and direction. Not least, it opened opportunities and allowed young soldiers to develop leadership skills and a sense of autonomy within a democratic organization, social recognition, perhaps, not otherwise attainable for them. Building on a common denominator of class, not race, the Army was among the first religious movements, as a Salvationist wrote, to "break down the wall of partition separating the white from the colored whom the Lord has bought from a common captivity of bondage" (52).

Founder Catherine Booth, a firm believer in the equality of the sexes—not unlike the Quakers—eagerly encouraged freedom and independence among young female recruits in their evangelizing. Taiz has uncovered interesting testimony from young women soldiers that counters earlier scholarship claiming women's eagerness to pursue "cheap amusements." Instead, Taiz found, 65 percent of the young women studied expressed fear of the "worldly pleasures" of the city, which

included parties, fancy dress, dancing, drinking, and casual sexual liaisons (57–58). The Army, with its meetings, social activities, and pool of eligible partners, offered a welcome alternative for many young workers within the “sacred community of Salvationism” (50).

Taiz provides new insight on the dynamics of class within the context of a working-class religion dealing with poverty, the saving of souls, and overtones of social control. The working and middle-class officers of the Salvation Army quickly seized opportunities to form alliances with the wealthy in their target markets. Within its first decade on American shores, the organization “began a vigorous campaign of marketing the Salvation Army to respectable, moneyed Americans” (42–43). Officers held “auxiliary meetings” in the drawing rooms of the wealthy, relating tales of Army “Slum Sisters” who bravely ventured into the tenements to “pray, distribute bits of scripture and tend to the sick and dying” (42). Happily for the Salvationists, Park Avenue debutants were so moved to tears that they “opened their purses and donated their rings and jewelry on the spot” (43).

By the turn of the twentieth century, the Army’s leadership faced an image crisis in reaching out to the needy. Could they continue street theatre religiosity or did they need to adapt the Army’s image to be more compatible with the new emphasis on social welfare? Reflecting changing perceptions of poverty and more sophisticated approaches to philanthropic outreach, the “blood-washed warriors of the nineteenth century” chose the latter, evolving into members of a church that became “the great go-between, the national distributor, of the country’s wealth to the country’s poor and needy” (164).

In *Hallelujah Lads and Lasses*, Taiz aptly demonstrates how an upstart religious movement customized itself to fit perfectly into the polyglot urban landscape, fashioning a successful strategy to deal with the poor and working classes of often chaotic inner cities and adapting to changing notions of poverty. And the Army’s work is yet unfinished. Those smiling bell-ringers that today greet us at holiday time, while no longer the boisterous “blood-washed warriors” of a century ago, nonetheless, are still God’s soldiers dressed for battle in the unrelenting—and often competitive—war for salvation.

KATHLEEN WATERS SANDER

University of Maryland University College

Before Jim Crow: The Politics of Race in Post-emancipation Virginia. By Jane Dailey. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000. 278 pages. Notes, bibliography, index. \$39.95 cloth; \$17.95 paper.)

Over the last two decades, the scholarship of the post–Civil War period has undergone a major reworking in which the consequences of the emancipation of southern slaves occupies a central place in the telling, often viewed through the

lens of the newly freed themselves. The change has wrought a history far more complete, meaningful, and nuanced. Above all, too long obscured was the fact that America was the only post-emancipation society to grant suffrage rights to former male slaves who thus found themselves head to head with former masters in the effort to remake southern society after the war. Contrary to early-twentieth-century wisdom, recent scholarship maintains that the formerly enslaved made great strides in furthering the conditions of their freedom through their newfound suffrage rights. In fact, we are learning that the ultimately successful effort to disfranchise black men did not take place as primarily an effort of electoral reform, as so long attested, but instead as a necessary means of assuring white dominance.

In this vein, Jane Dailey has made a notable contribution. Focusing solely on Virginia and, for the most part, the immediate post-Reconstruction period, she has uncovered ample evidence of a breadth of black political power increasingly perceived as threatening. As the title implies, what blacks gained and sought in those years bore directly on the passage of *Plessey* and the subsequent enactment of state laws explicitly segregating Virginians (and all southerners at one time or another) by skin color.

The hub of Dailey's book discusses the Virginia Readjuster movement during which white and black men successfully joined political forces to wrest control from white Democrats and held onto the central reins of the state government for the next four years. Readjuster success became most "destabilizing" with the distribution of patronage positions that allowed black Virginians the opportunity to become "increasingly visible." From there, concern grew over the blurring of hierarchies from the public to the private sector or, to put it another way, that political equality would reap social equality. In response, according to Dailey, white Readjusters attempted to maintain their political control while claiming that the "liberalism" their movement postulated did not apply to the societal realms of Virginia life—public transportation, theaters, and, above all else, bedrooms. Readjuster liberalism thus was offered as a viable means of "containing" the racial status quo while claiming to further the rights of man. The problem was that black Readjusters instead chose to interpret their movement's ideology broadly as one striving toward total equality and first class citizenship. White Democrats easily capitalized on this loophole by illustrating how Readjusters' biracial political cooperation had unleashed daily examples of black Virginians "forgetting their place," or generally tampering with the daily personifications of white dominance. Thus, it is around this point that the Readjuster movement unravels when, in early November of 1883, a sidewalk skirmish in the town of Danville becomes a bloody brawl, leading to numerous deaths and a slight Democratic upset at the polls days later. Though the Readjuster legacy "endured long past 1883," after the resurgence of white Democratic power the possibility of biracial cooperation grew more remote every year as white supremacist reasoning gathered renewed plausibility.

What is most important about Dailey's book is her insistence that white racism did not flow over from the antebellum period into Reconstruction to crush all promises of black elevation then and beyond. Instead, Dailey maintains that the white supremacist creeds with which the Jim Crow era would become associated were in constant formation during the postbellum period in direct response to revolutionary political and social experimentation. Historians, she continues, have too long "focused extensively" on the effort to establish white supremacy and obscured these potentially cataclysmic moments of biracial cooperation.

In spite of the attention Dailey calls to this historical oversight, her work does tend to rely too heavily on analysis of the rhetoric of white supremacy and neglects comprehensive discussion of the political programs whites found so threatening. Most conspicuous is the failure to balance the narrative between the actions of whites and blacks. For example, we are presented a picture of the Readjuster movement that relies heavily on white participation but often minimizes black activity. While a scenario of white Readjuster control is believable, that blacks demanded and possibly received certain rights and privileges in exchange for their political support (beyond patronage posts) is equally conceivable. At one point, Dailey tells us of an unidentified black man who insisted that black Virginians "trade their political support for a promise to repeal the laws" bearing down upon their civil rights. If this was viable strategy, how far did it progress? Dailey might likely agree that herein lay the crux of the threat to white power—that most endangering to Democrats were the visions of democratic restructuring often proposed by black legislators which biracial cooperation could make a reality—but she does not give the point necessary attention. Also missing is any discussion of the economic consequences of biracial political success in Virginia. Is it not possible that the surge to popularize white supremacist ideas was also incited by the potential economic leveling that might come with the continued success of a biracial movement that relied on the votes of poor, neglected Virginians, white as well as black?

After several unsuccessful attempts, by the turn of the century white Democrats would finally hold a constitutional convention designed to remove black suffrage and with it many white votes as well. Uncertain a majority would support them, this elite faction went back on its promise to offer the constitution to popular vote and instead pushed it through as the law of the state behind closed doors. Two decades later a reporter from the *Richmond Times*, upon surveying the results of the 1924 fall elections in Virginia, would write aghast, "Twenty percent of the electorate rules—20 per cent at a maximum. And it is called democracy!" Overall, *Before Jim Crow* makes a significant contribution recounting how white supremacist ideas matured and expanded to eventually take on a life of their own in the segregated South. Future work must further explain why.

HAMPTON D. CAREY
Fairfield University

Books in Brief

Larry Chowning's *Soldiers at the Doorstep: Civil War Lore* is a collection of reminiscences gathered from childhood memories of tales handed down from the war generation. These are not stories of heroic battle charges and great military victories. They are, instead, a close look at life on the southern homefront, behind enemy lines in Yankee-occupied Tidewater Virginia. These stories speak of everyday people swept up in war, and, of how those people held off the enemy "at their doorstep." Chowning writes of the Hewitt family who, in desperate defense of their home, cut cornstalks the length of rifles and stacked them in military formation, close enough to the road that they fell within enemy view. He also writes of women with sons on both sides of the conflict and young men who love and marry toward the war's end.

Cornell Maritime Press, cloth, \$19.95

"A Free Ballot and a Fair Count": *The Department of Justice and the Enforcement of Voting Rights in the South, 1877–1893* by Robert Michael Goldman is a new look at the 1870–71 Enforcement Acts. These laws set forth a wide range of federally enforceable crimes designed to protect African American men and their voting rights under the recently ratified Fifteenth Amendment. Goldman argues against previous interpretations of these laws and states that the federal government did continue enforcement efforts after the Compromise of 1877. The Justice Department, albeit sporadically, worked toward enforcement until the early 1890s when Congress repealed these election laws.

Fordham University Press, cloth, \$35; paper, \$20

Irish Church Records: Their History, Availability, and Use in Family and Local History Research, edited by James G. Ryan, is a new edition of the 1992 Irish church survey. This book includes church histories of eight major Irish churches, their record-keeping practices, and the types, locations, and availability of the records used most often by family and church historians. For shipping information from the U.K. contact the author c/o Flyleaf Press, 4 Spencer Villas, Glenageary, Co. Dublin [phone (01) 283 1693, email flyleaf@indigo.ie].

Letters to the Editor

Editor:

Your summer (2001) edition contained an article by Steven Sarson of the University of Wales entitled "'Objects of Distress': Inequality and Poverty in Early Nineteenth-Century Prince George's County." Professor Sarson argues computational analysis by him trumps eyewitness accounts that he describes as "agrarian," "yoeman-republican discourse."

The New York Times of Thursday August 16, 2001 on column one of page one reports the newest survey data released by the U.S. Census Bureau shows the decline of the Cajun population in Louisiana in the last ten years from 1990 to 2000 to be genocidal: from 407,000 in 1990 to 44,000 in 2000. The disappeared people are reported by this eyewitness, literary source to be incredulous and amused. "Did they all die?" one asked. Another commented "We know we're here." The celebration of ethnicity and local distinctions was politically correct in 2000; official government questions about personal wealth and tax status never are.

Professor Sarson does acknowledge that under-assessment and under-reporting were extant in the figures he analyzed, but he fails to cite any eyewitness accounts of his growing majority number of vagrants. Rather, he wrote: "... agrarian writers were selective to the point of distortion, for it reveals the existence of a large and growing section of the population which was materially poor and excluded from agrarian discourses."

Clearly and by most literary accounts tobacco planters faced overproduction and their own depleted soil in early nineteenth-century Prince George's County. Eyewitness accounts also show slavery was not a viable economic system (Frederick Law Olmsted's letters to the *New York Times*, February 16, 1853 to February 13, 1854 signed Yoeman). But I would suggest the absence of eyewitness literature to support Professor Sarson's argument means his argument is questionable at best.

Murray H. Baldwin

Brooklyn, New York

Notices

Maryland Historical Society Book Prize

The MHS will award a \$1,000 prize for the best book on Maryland History published in 1999 or 2000. Authors and publishers are invited to submit their works by January 15, 2002. Entries will be judged by the Publications Committee. Please send three copies of the book to the Publications Division, Maryland Historical Society, 201 West Monument Street, Baltimore, MD 21201. For additional information call 410-685-3750 x 317.

Undergraduate Essay Prize

The Maryland Historical Society annually honors the best essays written by undergraduates in the field of Maryland and regional history. Essays are judged on the originality and freshness of their approach to research in primary sources (original historiographical essays will also be considered), the significance of their contribution to Maryland history, and their literary merit and technical form. First prize is \$500, second prize \$250, third prize \$100. Prize winners will be given a one-year free membership to the Maryland Historical Society. All entries will be considered for publication in the *Maryland Historical Magazine*. A cover letter containing the student's college, major, and mentoring professor must accompany each entry. Send four copies of the essay to Maryland Historical Society Essay Contest, 201 West Monument Street, Baltimore, MD 21201. Entries must be postmarked before January 1, 2002.

Award Honors Daniel Carroll Toomey

On Saturday April 28, during its popular Civil War encampment at Fort McHenry, the National Park Service presented native Marylander Daniel Carroll Toomey with the E. W. Peterkin award in recognition of his contributions as author, lecturer, consultant, collector, and publisher. The award, in honor of Captain Ernest Wilson Peterkin, USN (1920–95) is given annually to a citizen who has contributed to the history of Maryland's role during the Civil War. Toomey's most notable works are *The Civil War in Maryland* (1983) and *Baltimore During the Civil War* (1997).

PEAES

The Library Company of Philadelphia's Program of Early American Economy

and Society and the McNeil Center for Early American Studies will co-sponsor a seminar November 30. Seth Rockman, Occidental College and PEAES Advanced Research Fellow will present "Unsteady Labor in Unsteady Times: Urban Workers at the Forefront of Early Republic Capitalism." The seminar will be held at the Library Company, 1314 Locust Street, Philadelphia. For additional information, visit the PEAES web site at economics@librarycompany.org or, contact Director Cathy D. Matson, 215-546-5167.

National History Day

"Revolution, Reaction, Reform in History" is the theme for National History Day, 2002. The curriculum books are available from state coordinators or may be purchased at \$2 each from the NHD office. The 2002 supplement includes a description of the annual theme, suggested topics, bibliography, and lesson plans. The theme sheet and bibliography are available on line at www.NationalHistoryDay.org.

Maryland Historical Society Launches On-line Book Club

The MHS Members-Only Book Club is a bimonthly series of reading recommendations and electronic mail discussions of works related to Maryland history. Just log on to the MHS members-only website beginning November 19, 2001, and approximately every six weeks thereafter to find the latest selection. The site also contains an email address for the electronic mail discussion group, links to on-line reviews, and a book order form when the selection is available from the MHS museum shop. To become a member of the MHS Book Club just click on the link or send an email with your name, email address, and history interests to MHSbookclub@mdhs.org. MHS members without internet service can also receive materials via regular mail. Send your written request to Dr. Susanne Cole, Maryland Historical Society, 201 West Monument Street, Baltimore, Maryland 21201. On occasion book selections will also have corresponding special events to take you deeper into Maryland's History. Watch the MHS website for details on the guided tour through William Faris's eighteenth-century Annapolis scheduled for May 2002.



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Maryland Historical Magazine		00 2 5 - 4 2 5 8		10/26/01	
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Maryland Historical Society, 201 W. Monument St., Baltimore, MD 21201					
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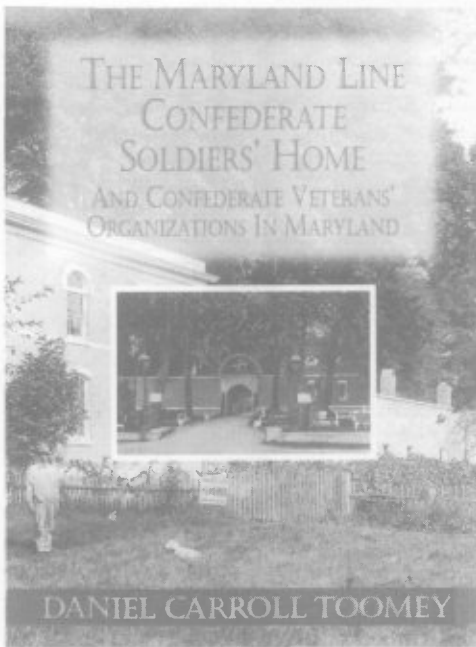
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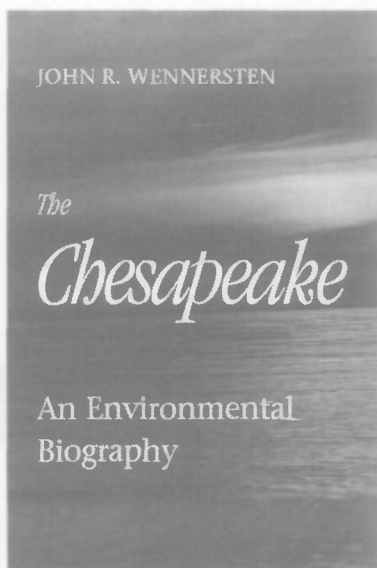
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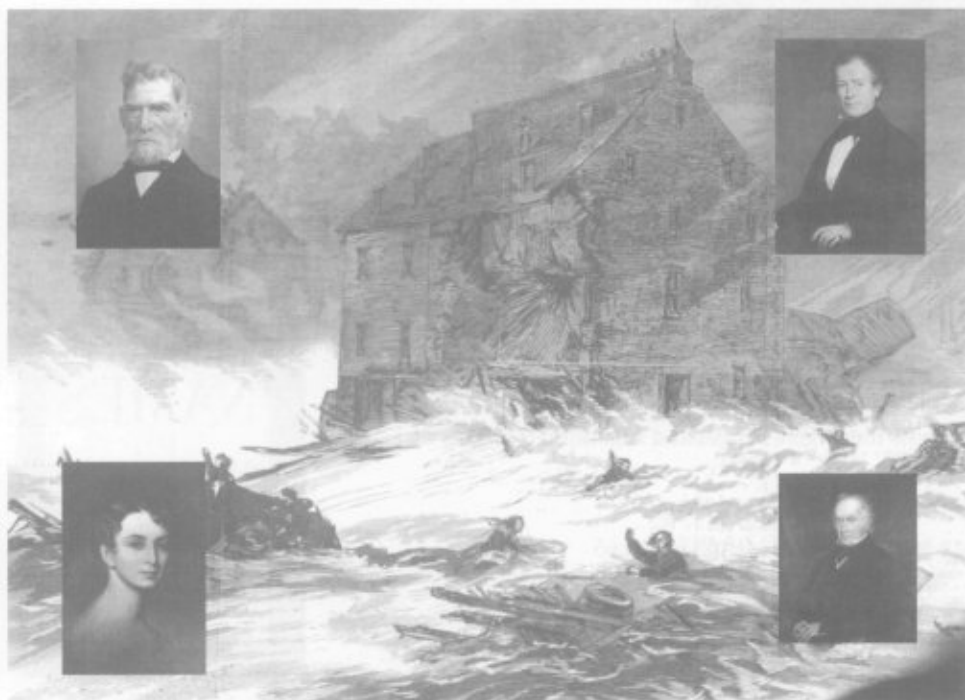
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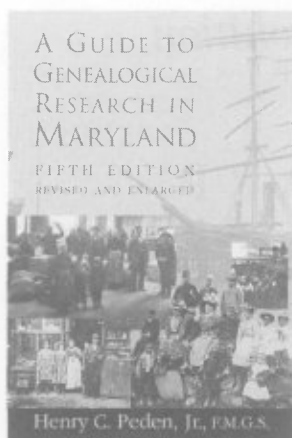
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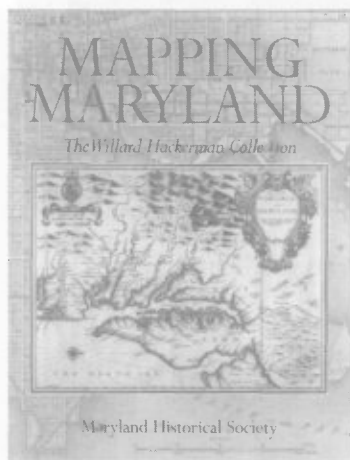
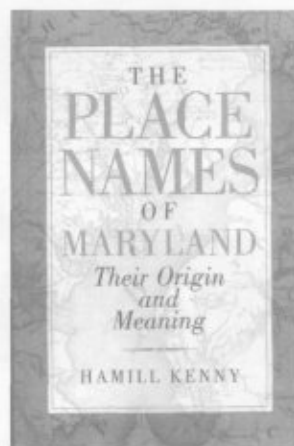
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